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Pact Conventional Arms Talks Begin in Prague

LD2610230590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The fourth round of talks within the framework of the Warsaw Pact special commission on conventional arms began in Prague today. Quotas for tanks and artillery weapons within the Warsaw Pact are to be established. Little time has been set aside for the upcoming talks between the deputy foreign ministers due to the Paris meeting of leaders of the CSCE participant countries planned for November.

TASS Commentary on Warsaw Pact's Future

LD2710125190 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 27 Oct 90

["Future of Warsaw Pact—TASS Comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The future of the Warsaw Pact is an issue that has drawn much attention of late. The mass media recently carried statements by Hungarian and Czechoslovak leaders about the two countries' plans with regard to the Pact's military organisation.

The Soviet Union does not regard statements by its allies about the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact military organisation as sensational news.

In 1988, the pact's Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest decided to strengthen the political nature of the bloc, which presupposed the lessening of its military significance.

In June this year, at the committee's conference in Moscow, the Soviet Union agreed with its allies to map out and take concrete steps to curtail the military organisation of the Warsaw Pact.

Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov said at a recent joint press conference with his U.S. counterpart Dick Cheney: "We arrive at the conclusion that the military organisation of the Warsaw Pact is not needed." This is the gist of the Soviet stand.

Political observers paid attention to a recent report on the postponement of an extraordinary conference of the Political Consultative Committee, originally scheduled for November 3-4.

Moscow thinks it would be more logical to hold the conference after the Paris summit of countries participating in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is expected to take major political decisions that would also affect the Warsaw Pact.

In addition, all Warsaw Pact members are interested in analysing new proposals concerning the functioning of the Pact, as these are very serious issues that will have consequences for the entire situation in Europe.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing on Friday that a provisional commission of governmental representatives, set up by the decision of the Moscow conference of the Political consultative committee, was working out recommendations for the Pact's transformation.

In the opinion of the Soviet side, work in the commission is proceeding normally. There are differences, but they are removed on the basis of compromise.

Moscow does not see any insurmountable obstacles to the successful completion of the commission's work and the subsequent approval of its results by the Political Consultative Committee.

General Lobov Eyes Reduction of Pact Forces

LD3010102790 Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—According to Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the general staf of the joint armed forces, the total number of Warsaw Pact troops has been reduced significantly and unilaterally. In an interview with the independent agency INTERFAX, the general said on Monday [29 October] that the USSR, Poland, Hungary, the CSFR, Bulgaria, and Romania have reduced their manpower by over 600,000. The number of tanks has been reduced by 10,000. Other equipment and combat technology has also been reduced. Further, as a result of German unification, the army of the former GDR has left the Warsaw Pact.

Lobov said that lack of military balance would be counterbalanced through the political situation. The chief of staff expressed his regret that although negotiations are being conducted by NATO on troop reductions, real results are not being felt. The practical realization will be linked to the fulfilment of the future decisions to be prepared at the Vienna negotiations. The continued transformation of the Warsaw Pact must be synchronized with the development of the Helsinki process and the creation of an all-European security system, which also envisages a symmetrical reduction of the NATO military organization, Lobov said.

New Relations With Warsaw Pact Countries Viewed

PM2910131190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Colonel V. Markushin under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": "East Europe and Us"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In addition to the burning topic of the Near East, open conversations take place today on the fate of the Warsaw Pact and the future of the "Soviet bloc." No sensational developments are expected. Everything obviously indicates that the Warsaw Pact Organization, and its military structure in particular, is approaching its end. This is the objective situation.

But some opinions on this subject do create a strange impression. Apparently the East European processes were set in motion by some unknown force. As if the East European countries' liberation from the so-called "limited sovereignty doctrine" occurred by itself. As if political and economic reforms in Warsaw and Prague, in Sofia and Budapest, were launched contrary to Moscow's intentions.

There is no scarcity of published material on the East European topic. But not everyone who tackles this—as I would describe it—delicate matter has himself cast off the old confrontational ways and the habit of perceiving only negative aspects in everything that concerns the Soviet Union and its role in East Europe. "The Warsaw Pact, having lost one of its members—the GDR—still exists," J. Reissmueller writes in the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE. "But it exists only as a spent bullet: It has lost its base. The eastern alliance cannot continue its existence because it no longer has common ideals and a common task... All the small Warsaw Pact member states are fed up to the teeth not only with the Soviets' supremacy but also with their multifaceted presence. In the opinion of these allies, the less they have to do with the Soviet Union, the better for them."

Is this really so? I think that arguments concerning the aforementioned statement can be put forward by both those who share it and those who are ready to refute it. By no means everything in it is unambiguous. And the main point is that by no means everything appeared so gloomy as to merit such an unkind tone in Reissmueller's words. Was there nothing positive in the cooperation which had developed, or was the Soviet Union the only one to gain from this cooperation?

In my view, the author is confused in many regards. And of course he really gets carried away when, by way of confirmation of his view of the problem, he cites the opinion of those who deem it expedient to have as few contacts with the USSR as possible.

Of course, this opinion did not come out of the blue. There was a greater or lesser outburst of anti-Soviet moods in all East European countries. They were prompted by causes which were either perfectly real, like, for example, the difficulties with fuel that suddenly developed following the cutbacks in Soviet oil deliveries, or alleged and linked, for example, with artificially bringing into the present certain remnants of the recent and distant past.

History is, of course, something serious. Consequently it demands a correspondingly serious approach toward it. Let me try and formulate the question as follows: Is it possible to put forward, as telling arguments against today's close cooperation, past anomalies and even hostility in relations between, say, France and Germany? And why not, if the logic in some articles were to be applied?

Some people might say: Do not confuse natural and man-made phenomena. The old world is fused together by a market which was not "organized" by edict but matured naturally, in the course of a prolonged economic evolution. Anomalies disrupted the pace of its operations but never affected its roots. As for socialist integration, it is a different matter. It contains elements of diktat, it is artificial, and therefore cannot last.

I think this opinion is only partly justified. Of course, economic bonds in West Europe are much stronger. But the USSR's relations with East Europe were not built on thin air. We have much in common—on the political, economic, and security planes. We are certainly not distant relatives along ethnic and spiritual lines. We are mentally similar. And not just in positive traits. Recently, for example, there has been a deeply rooted confusion in our countries' mass awareness as regards the costs of deciding to "revert to capitalism" and making life as fabulous as it is "over there." It looks as if this illusion will be dispelled for us all together.

The problem of common security appears especially important. Europe certainly did not reach the end of the "cold war" for the sake of replacing one set of confrontational attitudes by another. It would be absurd and monstrous if, as military tension eases at the heart of the continent, difficulties were to be created in relations between the Soviet Union and its East European partners artificially, to suit shortsighted and extremist circles. It would also be absurd and monstrous if one ideology, which fetters with monolithic dogmas, were to be replaced by another, pointlessly centrifugal and pannihilistic.

World experience shows—and we can clearly see this now—that the economic factor in international security plays an equal and maybe even greater role than the military factor. East European countries cannot be an exception to the general rule. Their geography, levels of economic development, and nature of economic ties are such that any attempt to suddenly switch to a pro-West orientation to the detriment of the eastern market would be a rash action. This is because a breach of stable economic ties and a loss of regular political, cultural, and other contacts could have an unpredictable effect on the level of security in the region.

It is, of course, impossible to lightly discount the purely military factor of security. Europe's existence without arms and violence is still nothing but wishful thinking. All well and good if it actually happened. We all would like this. But is it worth getting excited and rushing to do something about long-established and durable ties along military lines? Life certainly does not confirm the universality of the idea of razing everything to the ground and only then building something new on the ruins. Even if the issue concerns the elaboration of a country's new military doctrine, geared to training its forces to repulse possible attacks from any direction. What I have in mind are Hungary and Poland, for example.

The material aspect of any radical reorientation of military building is quite substantial. Especially for countries whose economic development cannot be described as problem-free. It is well known that East

European countries' defense is now built on the basis of combat equipment that is either Soviet or standardized with Soviet equipment. This will evidently prevail in the foreseeable future. As a matter of fact, this is realized in the East European capitals. Poland's Deputy Defense Minister J. Onyszkiewicz recently refuted rumors that his country was striving to purchase F-16 aircraft. In the present conditions, he said, there cannot be even talk about such purchases—neither the minister of finance nor parliament would give their consent. At the same time, Onyszkiewicz said future purchases of modern arms in the West cannot be ruled out.

Any East European state is entitled to choose its friends, establish special relations with them, and so on. This is the natural process of the building of new Europe. It is, however, very important that all this should contain fewer ideological overtones. It is easier to build interstate relations without such unnecessary additions.

CEMA Sponsors Economic Development Group

91UF0060A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by A. Sharyy: "Cooperation: The Model Is Changing"]

[Text] It is no secret that economic cooperation among CEMA member countries is in a state of crisis at present. However, the very fact that the economies are woven so closely together raises the need for a search for new models of interaction. This, in particular, also provided the impetus for the creation of the International Association To Assist Economic Development and Cooperation, which arose at the initiative of the collective of CEMA's International Institute on Economic Problems of the World Socialist System. Members of the association are united by the intention to contribute to the formation of a market economy and the development of comprehensive economic ties within the framework of the world community.

"Our goal is to unite prominent economists from many countries who can use their knowledge and experience to create a new model of cooperation," says I. Sergiyenko, general director of the association. "In particular, scholars of the Hungarian Institute of Industrial Economics, the Institute of World Economics in Romania, the Warsaw Institute of Finances, the Swedish Institute of International Relations, and the Institute of International Economic and Political Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences have expressed an interest in participating in our work."

"To begin with, the association is proposing five programs which are supposed to contribute to the resolution of problems in the transition to a market. Among them I would distinguish the training program, which includes a whole series of projects to give an economic education to businessmen, students, and schoolchildren. The association will also be involved in promoting entrepreneurial activities."

The first action of the new organization was an international seminar dedicated to the problems of the transition to the market.

Minister on Soviets in International Organizations

LD2610095790 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations October 26 TASS—The Soviet Union has decided to bring Soviet citizens' work for international organisations into line with international norms, Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Nikiforov told a press conference at U.N. Headquarters on Thursday [25 October]

He said the status of Soviet staff workers would be same as that of workers from other countries.

"We are seeking to resolve all issues related to this within a short period of time," Nikiforov said.

Speaking about the secondment of staff workers form national civil services to international organisations, he said the Soviet Union would "strictly abide by procedures to be worked out and approved by the U.N. General Assembly".

"The U.N. secretary-general has recently proposed working out general principles for such practice, as many countries interpret it in different ways, prompting conflicts.

"Soviet U.N. staff wishing to work in their homeland in future have guarantees that they will be given a civil service job.

"Those wishing to continue working for the United Nations can seek extended contracts or permanent assignments on a competitive basis.

"The leadership of the U.N. Secretariat should take into account, above all, contender's value for the organisation," Nikiforov said.

'Observers Roundtable' Views UN, Gulf Situation

LD2810201290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 28 Oct 90

[International observers roundtable program with Nikolay Agayants, Moscow Radio Foreign Policy commentator, and Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the Editorial Board of ZA RUBEZHOM (Abroad) Weekly; moderated by Boris Andrianov]

[Excerpts] [Andrianov] Hello, comrades! We begin our traditional international observers roundtable program. Chairman Boris Andrianov is at the microphone. Nikolay Agayants, Moscow Radio foreign policy commentator, and Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial board of the ZA RUBEZHOM weekly, join me at this meeting.

USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev ends his official visit to Spain today. [passage omitted]

[Volskiy] The past week, as it is known, has been designated by a special session of the United Nations General Assembly—and celebrated by all people of goodwill on our planet, no matter where they live or what views they profess—as a week of action for disarmament. Much has actually been done in this important direction already.

Today, as it is recognized by everybody, a new conception of security is being established in the world, the spiral of the breathtaking arms race, if one may put it that way, has been interrupted. The process of real disarmament has begun. The first step in this most difficult direction is the U.S.-USSR treaty on short- and medium- range missiles, which is the first but not the last.

[Andrianov] I think we can all hope that in the near future a treaty will be at last concluded between the U.S. and the USSR on the substantial reduction of strategic offensive weapons, as well as an agreement on the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe.

[Agayants] I would like to think so, Boris Vasilyevich, I would like to think so. Progress in this direction is noticeable, but serious problems still remain. Different opinions are still being expressed on the problem of nuclear arms tests. Chemical and bacteriological weapons are still of great concern. So, there is no cause for complacency, to say nothing of any kind of euphoria.

[Andrianov] But, despite everything, the fundamental changes for the better in UN activity are evident. Colossal changes have occurred in international relations over the past year. The cold war of sad memory has come to an end. We have witnessed the emergence of cooperation between the great powers. Interaction between East and West has replaced harsh confrontation between them. The reunification of Germany, within the framework of a more secure Europe, was the culmination of mutual trust. The process of democratization is making itself felt in other, previously very disturbed, regions—Central and South America, Asia, and Africa, although regional conflicts still inflict pain and suffering and death on millions of people. All these dangerous conflicts must be settled urgently.

[Agayants] It is easy enough to say that, but how can it be done? How can the good wishes, recommendations, and so forth contained in the numerous United Nations Security Council resolutions on the most diverse problems be implemented?

[Volskiy] I understand your skepticism, Nikolay Ivanovich. But there is, for example, the firm, unanimous, decisive rebuff the international community of nations gave to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi troops, and to the annexation of that sovereign state. This is a graphic demonstration of the important role of the United Nations in peaceful solutions of conflict situations. This is important for the future.

[Agayants] Well, I don't know, I don't know. Just look at what is going on there now. Baghdad continues to carry

out its line, and to judge by all events has absolutely no intention of heeding the stern Security Council resolutions. I may be wrong, there is perhaps something I have not quite understood.

[Andrianov] Lots of the most incredible reports verging on the mystical are emerging from the Persian Gulf crisis. You know about the dream of Saddam Husayn, to whom the prophet appeared, suggesting the Iraqi president should withdraw his troops from Kuwait, leaving himself with only the islands in the Persian Gulf. We shall not, however, speculate on what the dream conjured up for the Iraqi president. But, a sober political calculation could be considered.

[Agayants] Baghdad, I would think, cannot be in any doubt about three circumstances. First, the fact that virtually all of mankind has come out against the annexation of Kuwait. Iraq, small as it is on a global scale, remains alone, in isolation, if one discounts the enforced, semi-backing, as I would call it, of neighboring Jordan, Yemen, and the ambiguous position of Iran, which has opted for reconciliation with Baghdad, but which is clearly playing some game of its own. Second, economic sanctions are starting to have an effect. Third, the psychological strain under which the Iraqi people are living demands some denouement, some action.

[Volskiy] This is all indeed the case, and it could spur Saddam Husayn to seek a compromise. One should not, however, forget another thing—the Iraqi president is a master of political gestures and manoeuvres. You will recall how he is releasing the foreign hostages in doses, so to speak. First, women and children, then elderly Britons, then Austrians, now the French, depending on his political intentions. This relates to the Soviet specialists, too, some of whom, as you know, expressed a wish to leave Baghdad. Now the Baghdad authorities seem to be allowing them to do this. In such a situation, many people, of course, interpret rumors about Saddam Husaynh's readiness for compromise as intentionally disseminated disinformation, aimed at splitting what is currently described as the anti-Iraq coalition; that is, to split the ranks of the world community, which is opposing the annexation of Kuwait, and to find some sort of weak link in it.

[Andrianov] France is referred to in this context. For example, Baghdad has recently made very serious overtures to France, starting to talk about Franco-Iraqi friendship, in the hope that Paris will take up a special position regarding the Persian Gulf crisis.

[Agayants] Calculations such as these seem to me to be pretty naive, though. For the time being, no one has really responded to Iraq's overtures to Paris, with the exception of Le Pen, the extreme right leader, who, of course, has reasons of his own. The leading French politicians, on the other hand, are moving with great caution, giving no grounds for accusations of disloyalty to the U.S. French troops in the Gulf are ready. As for the United States itself, President Bush has repeatedly made it understood that he is against any compromise on the Kuwait issue, in particular against leaving Iraq with the islands in the Persian Gulf. So, Saddam Husayn's dream, which has gone down in history, does not seem to have come true, as the saying goes.

[Volskiy] Well, since we have entered the domain of predictions, one can mention something else. For instance, Nostradamus, the famous medieval soothsayer, predicted in his prophetic verses that the present crisis would blow up into a world war. At any rate, that is what his modern followers think. Furthermore, their analyses of Nostradamus' verses specify that the crisis and war will drag on for at least six years. Iran will fight on the Iraqi side, while the initial cooperation between the USSR and the U.S. will break down, and these states will end up on different sides of the trenches. A famous Indian prophetess predicted the possibility of war in the next decade, asserting that a certain black man on a white horse would bring death and destruction. It is not hard to guess who this is supposed to mean. I can testify to that, having been in Iraq not so long ago, where I saw lots of portraits of a stern, moustachioed, dark-haired man which involuntarily came to my mind, including portraits of him on a white horse. A poster like that was set up at a busy Baghdad intersection opposite the hotel where I was staying.

[Andrianov] But, to be serious, a military option for resolving the Kuwait crisis would, of course, be fraught with serious and unpredictable dangers on a global scale. It suffices to mention, for instance, the possibility of the oil deposits in Saudi Arabia being put out of action, which would give rise to an energy famine in both the developed and developing countries.

[Volskiy] Nor is it excluded that quite broad segments of the population in the Arab and Moslem countries might see a war in the Gulf as a clash between the Islamic and Christian worlds, as a general war by Moslems against the infidels, which would lead to the conflict seeping through to regions far away from the Gulf—to the Indian-Pakistani border area, for example, primarily Kashmir, or to Lebanon, where the war is not dying down even without anything else. You will recall the recent killing of Sham'un, the prominent Christian leader, and his wife and young sons. I remember conversations with devotees of his father, the former president of Lebanon, who bluntly described his country as the mirror of religious contradictions throughout the world.

Today, we do not just see such contradictions abroad. It has rightly not gone unnoticed that the Soviet Central Asian republics, to say nothing of Azerbaijan, are situated quite close to the zone of the Persian Gulf conflict. War in the Gulf zone would hardly fail to have an affect on the already difficult situation in these regions. The main thing is that there are increasing signs that in the event of wide development of military actions, weapons of mass destruction could be unleashed there.

There is another important thing, too. In the Persian Gulf, the new political thinking, based upon the unity of the world community and upon the authority of the UN, which we have already mentioned today, is undergoing a sort of test. To put an end to the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait through joint efforts means preventing any repetition of similar actions. Furthermore, the current Security Council resolution is a precedent for a settlement in other regions, above all the Middle East. As you know, following the shooting of Palestinians in Jerusalem, the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories sharply deteriorated. Urgent measures are needed to save peace in this explosive region neighboring the Persian Gulf. The unreserved support which the United States used to give to all Israeli actions hampered adoption of such measures. But, now the situation seems to be starting to change. Two Security Council resolutions have already been made, one condemning the Israeli action in Jerusalem itself, and another condemning Israel's refusal to cooperate with the UN commission set up to investigate the incident. The United States voted alongside the other members of the Security Council in favor of both resolutions, for the first time in recent years when Israel was involved. This, I think, is no accident. Just the other day I read an article in THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE by the noted conservative observer William (?Safire) who concluded that it is only by the joint efforts of the world community that the conditions for a settlement of the Near East conflict can be dictated to the Near East countries, primarily Israel, which is currently tearing itself apart in internal contradictions, as he writes.

[Agayants] So, there are, of course, flickerings of positive changes in the present heated situation in the whole huge region of the Near and Middle East, from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. One would hope that the positive tendencies will hinder the creep to new wars, and will in the final analysis lead to the establishment of stable law and order both in this region and throughout the whole world. This must replace the confrontation of the times of the Cold War. [passage omitted]

Northeast Asia

South Korean Firm Opens Moscow Office

PM2910150990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 4

[Report by V. Mkrtchyan: "Now 'Lucky Goldstar'"]

[Text] In their desire to reach the Soviet market many South Korean firms have turned to the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry asking to be registered officially and allowed to open branches in Moscow.

Among the first to receive Moscow registration was one of South Korea's four largest firms, "Lucky Goldstar," which has opened a trading office in the city center in Yuzhinskiy. The "Lucky Goldstar" group includes 38 companies covering a broad spectrum of industrial production, construction, trade, and services. The firm's enterprises, which produce everything from modern electronic equipment and machinery to mass consumer goods, employ over 100,000 people. It is expected that total trade turnover in 1990 will be in excess of $25 billion.

The firm has already developed a detailed strategy for developing trade relations with the Soviet Union. It includes mainly the export of consumer goods and domestic electronic appliances. The firm intends to import textiles, metals, and various raw materials from the USSR.

In a talk with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, Mr. K.S. Pyon [name as transliterated], president of "Lucky Goldstar," said that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Korean Republic has lent great impetus to the expansion of economic cooperation. Naturally, he stressed, this cooperation should be based on the principles of mutual advantage, on the encouragement of capital investment, and on the subordination of these relations to the demands of an open economy and politics.

Possible Logging Venture With ROK Viewed

SK2910223990 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 25 Oct 90

[From the "Primorskiy Kray" program]

[Text] Cooperation between Primorskiy Kray and ROK companies is developing, as representatives of ROK business circles have noted. Mr. Yi Kang-yol, who heads the Hyundai Group mission in Nakhodka, commented on this.

[Begin Yi Kang-yol recording] We at Hyundai have come to the Maritime Territory because we thought there would be various businesses with which we can cooperate economically. The Maritime Kray is geographically very close to the ROK.

We came to Nakhodka to contribute something to the Soviet economy by using abundant resources in the Maritime Kray as the first stage of the economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. This is in connection with the Soviet decision to establish a special economic zone.

The Maritime Kray has varied and abundant natural resources, many of which the ROK can use, and we have undertaken various businesses to help the Maritime Kray develop its economy utilizing the ROK technology, manpower (?here), and experience. One of these important projects is a logging business. [end recording]

The Hyundai proposal for building an enterprise that comprehensively processes timber and produces furniture interested Primorskiy Kray forestry functionaries, and the Primorskiy Forestry Union, therefore, signed the agreement without delay.

The union's leaders, however, failed to take some factors into account. Because logging has been performed at random in Primorskiy Kray for the last several decades, the forests have been devastated. The social circles that struggled against forest devastation have managed to have the logging of (?big cone pine) trees banned this year. The (?big cone pine) trees are valuable not only as timber, but also as food, and this resource was facing extinction.

Logging was to have begun in a virgin forest, one of the few remaining in northern Primorskiy Kray, and in the area where Soviet Far East minorities traditionally have lived. It is not surprising that the regular meeting of the Primorskiy Kray Soviet demanded that forests be protected and logging be banned. After the country's government had already approved the agreement, the social circles unexpectedly resisted it, complicating things for the parties to the agreement.

During a one-hour program entitled "Deputies' Circuit" on Primorskiy Kray television, Primorskiy Forestry Union representatives and Primorskiy Kray deputies clarified their positions on the Soviet-ROK joint venture enterprise, and correspondent (Ina Lebedeva), who prepared this program, reported the following:

[Begin (Lebedeva) recording in Russian fading into Korean translation] I think the deputies did not study this proposal carefully at first. I have recently been to (Svetliy) village where the loggers will be living. This area is developing very slowly. There are no roads, nor have any basic facilities been developed. One could hardly expect to do anything here, considering the economic difficulties. I talked with many people there and found that they all welcomed the joint venture with Hyundai. They expect Hyundai will bring in modern machinery. If these machines are used, they will not have to harm young trees while logging, and after logging is completed, the forest can be revived. [end recording]

The trees on the plateau where the loggers will be working are 100 to 180 years old, and scholars say these trees should be felled without delay. But if the Primorskiy Kray Forestry Union is allowed to log these trees, as it attempted to do last year, it will leave land made

barren by bulldozers. The deputies, who understood how Hyundai's machines were to be used, concluded its machines will not destroy the soil and will help preserve the young forest.

[Begin (Lebedeva) recording] I cannot predict how this proposal will be discussed at the forthcoming regular meeting of the Primorskiy Kray Soviet. The Primorskiy Kray Forestry Union and the Primorskiy Kray Executive Committee are closely studying the documents, prudently preparing for the upcoming regular meeting. I expect they will persuade the participants to accept this proposal at the meeting.

I think there is no better partner than Hyundai has recommended a good project. I met and talked with a Hyundai representative at (Svetliy), and he said relations between the Soviet Union and the ROK are based on complete mutual respect and goodwill. The working functionaries of Primorskiy Kray and South Korea truly wish to continue this cooperation because it benefits both sides. I expect the obstacle to founding the joint venture enterprise at (Svetliy) soon will be removed. [end recording]

PRAVDA Views Prospects for Inter-Korean Detente

PM3010100990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by PRAVDA political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov under the rubric: "My Opinion": "Dialogue Between Koreans"]

[Text] Quite frankly, whenever I broach this subject I want to knock on wood for luck. Too often in the past the dialogue between Pyongyang and Seoul has been reminiscent of a cold engine: It keeps dying before it is able to get going. The possibility of bringing positions on key issues closer together has often been pushed into the background by arguments over far less important subjects. The inertia of confrontation that produced mutual mistrust and hatred was too strong.

But the winds of change are also affecting the climate of the Asian-Pacific region. Things are starting to get moving in one of the last preserves of the "cold war"—the Korean peninsula. Yet, today, it boasts of probably the highest concentration of troops in the world. Two major military groupings totaling almost half a million men, together with another 40,000 foreign soldiers with nuclear weapons, are deployed against each other on a territory smaller than than of Britain.

How can military-political confrontation on the Korean peninsula be avoided and dialogue initiated between North and South so as to pave the way toward a peaceful unification of the country? This idea has been fruitlessly discussed for 18 years, since government-level talks have repeatedly been called off by one side or the other. But last summer agreement was reached for the prime ministers of North and South Korea to exchange visits for the first time. The title I used for my commentary on this was "Are Things Moving?" Quite frankly, I decided to phrase it as a question. After all, doubts remained until the very last moment as to whether Yon Hyong-muk would go to Seoul in September. The talks did take place. Commentators then had to guess how his colleague Kang Yong-hun would be welcomed in Pyongyang in October. Would he be received by President Kim Il-song? It turned out that he would. And the president even advocated an inter-Korean summit if the dialogue at head of government level went well.

The world media made very contradictory assessments of the Seoul and Pyongyang talks. Reference was sometimes made to the absence of any specific agreements. But the main thing, in my view, is that the North-South dialogue is under way and will be continued (the two premiers have agreed to meet again in Pyongyang in mid-December). The sides have exchanged drafts of a joint declaration that would be the first legal document regulating North-South relations. These drafts are largely similar if one does not consider their titles. Pyongyang considers "nonaggression" to be the key word, while for Seoul it is "reconciliation." This is not a question of lexicography but of different approaches to reducing tension on the Korean peninsula. In order to achieve this, in Pyongyang's opinion, it will be necessary to implement military detente, to sharply limit—or, even better, abandon entirely—U.S.-South Korean maneuvers, and to turn the peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. Seoul believes that the starting point should be the development of economic cooperation and humanitarian exchanges so as to remove mutual mistrust. In my view, these differences are surmountable. Why not do both in parallel, similar to the Helsinki process with its "three baskets"?

The other dispute concerns the United Nations. Seoul is campaigning for both the South and the North to become members. Pyongyang is proposing joint representation for the Korean people—that is, a single seat at the United Nations. I think that, since North and South Korea are engaged in a dialogue aimed at reunifying the Korean nation, it would be more sensible for them to exercise their right to join the United Nations on the terms that they agree on between themselves. It is important that the process of overcoming alienation begin not only between North and South Korea but also between other countries that have been divided by the "cold war" in the Far East. This fall has provided graphic confirmation of that. Moscow and Seoul have established full diplomatic relations. Beijing and Seoul have agreed to open trade missions with consular functions. Pyongyang and Tokyo have expressed readiness to normalize Japanese-North Korean relations. Washington and Pyongyang are taking cautious steps toward each other.

The reunification of the nation is above all a matter for the Koreans. Removing the military-political confrontation on the peninsula is one of the key components for security in the Asian-Pacific region. In order to extend military detente to this part of the world the Soviet Union intends to conduct a serious dialogue with China,

the United States, and Japan. And it is very important that both parts of Korea are involved in this. The Canadian initiative in this area—that the formation of permanent security and cooperation structures in the northern part of the Pacific Basin begin with a meeting of representatives of the USSR, the United States, China, Japan, Canada, and North and South Korea on the problems of the Korean peninsula—deserves attention, in my view. M.S. Gorbachev proposed in Krasnoyarsk that this issue be discussed on a multilateral basis. This idea was subsequently supported and taken further by official circles in Seoul, Tokyo, and now Ottawa.

I would like to hope that the dialogue between the Koreans will be fruitful and will lead to sensible compromise for the sake of their national unity. And that multilateral talks to settle the Korean problem will turn a potential source of conflict into one of the leading pillars of Asian-Pacific security.

Near East & South Asia

Primakov Continues Mideast Tour, Meets Saudi King

LD3010152190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] On Monday, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia received Yevgeniy Primakov, the USSR president's special envoy and member of the Presidential Council. King Fahd highly praised the efforts of the Soviet Union, which, while advocating Iraq's fulfilment of the resolution of the UN Security Council, firmly and resolutely wants to make use of every chance to resolve the Persian Gulf crisis by peaceful means. During the conversation the need for the withdrawal of Iraq's forces from Kuwait and the restoration in that country of the situation which existed up to 2 August of this year was noted.

In the city of al-Ta'if today, Yevgeniy Primakov had a meeting with Shaykh Jabir al-Sabah, the amir of Kuwait. Today the USSR president's special envoy left Saudi Arabia by air.

Primakov Seeks Specialists' Dispatch From Iraq

LD2910100390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Report by special correspondent Aleksandr Levchenko in Baghdad]

[Text] [Announcer] Well, as we have already reported, comrade Primakov, personal representative of the USSR president, is in Baghdad. Yesterday he conveyed a message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, which recounts the results of Primakov's meetings and consultations in the United States, France, and Italy in the course of his long journey. The president's envoy's second mission, however, is the dispatch of the maximum possible number of Soviet specialists from Iraq to the USSR. Aleksandr Levchenko, our special correspondent in Baghdad, recounts how this mission is being resolved:

[Levchenko] I want to remind our listeners that during the meetings and talks in Baghdad between comrade Primakov, personal representative of the USSR president, and the Iraqi leadership, an agreement was reached on the free exit from Iraq of approximately 1,500 Soviet citizens. However, if we are to look the truth in the eye, then by that time the number of requests made by our specialists demanding their recall from Iraq had reached 2,000.

It should be noted that now, both on the part of the Soviet representatives in Baghdad and on the part of the interdepartmental commission for the evacuation of Soviet citizens from Iraq, which is headed by Comrade Belousov, everything possible is being done. I was once more convinced of this by a meeting with Anatoliy Nikitovich Kolotilen, USSR trade representative in Iraq. during our conversation he told me frankly that at various sites where our specialists are working different situations are developing. Where the contract management has succeeded in providing people with foodstuffs and arranging their living conditions, the atmosphere in the work collective is alright and the number of applications requesting recall are minimal. From such places it is basically people whose period of residence in the country has ended or who, owing to a lack of equipment and materials, do not have the opportunity of continuing work.

But the trade representative stressed, lamentably, that we have come across the unpleasant fact that certain managers—incidentally, possessing considerable work experience—have lost their heads in the complex situation and have come to be dominated by an insignificant but vociferous group of alarmists. At present an evacuation mood is predominant at such sites.

Yet, comrade Kolotilen told me during our conversation, despite the fact that we are monitoring the situation, here it is important to take people's psychology into account. As soon as twice-weekly flights by Tu-153 and Il-46 airplanes on the Moscow-Baghdad-Moscow route were arranged, it seemed the tense atmosphere on the contracts dissipated. Our specialists are convinced that the majority of those interested have finally received a realistic opportunity of leaving Iraq, and are even taking back their applications requesting a recall. Some of them, not being able to carry on working because of the lack of equipment and spare parts, have requested a transfer to different sectors which have all essentials. This, the trade representative stressed is also a real situation which we are coming across today.

At the request of the USSR trade representation in Iraq, I have not even begun to adduce the specific surnames of contract managers and the names of sites where our specialists are working in this material. Here I fully agree with the trade representative. In the final analysis it is not so very important with regard to who has not coped with his managerial reponsibility. The main thing now,

and I want to repeat this again, is to send home the maximum number of those so wishing, moreover, as quickly as possible.

Shevardnadze Views Primakov's Mideast Visits

LD2810145390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Barcelona, 28 October (TASS special correspondent)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze has expressed hope for a peaceful settlement of the international crisis in the Persian Gulf.

The leader of Soviet diplomacy, in a conversation with journalists, said when answering a question on the possibility of a compromise for a settlement of the conflict:

"It is not a question of compromises.

"It is a question of seeking the paths toward a political solution. It is difficult to say now what the specific paths will be. Primakov is meeting Saddam Husayn today. I do not think that his mission is the last hope.

"Nothing is yet known about a change in the position of Saddam Husayn. I think that conclusions should not be hastily drawn. I think that there is hope for a resolution of the crisis. The first condition for this, of course, is that Saddam Husayn must leave Kuwait."

Commentaries View, Analyze Persian Gulf Crisis

Arab-Israeli Connection Eyed

PM2710201290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 First Edition p 6

[Article by Yuriy Glukhov under the rubric: "View From Moscow": "Sowing the Wind..."]

[Text] It seems that Saddam Husayn is to a certain extent succeeding in his plan to turn the Iraq-Kuwait conflict into an Arab-Israeli conflict. This plan was conceived as an emergency exit from the collision course between Iraq and the Arab world. The perfidious aggression against neighboring fraternal Kuwait had to be disguised as an act of unification and consolidation of forces in the name of the struggle against the Israeli aggressors, in support of the Palestinians. Initially the Baghdad version did not work, because Israel held onto its restraint and composure, refraining from provoking the Arabs. But this restraint did not last long.

On 8 October Israeli policemen in Jerusalem fired on a crowd of Palestinians who had assembled at Al-Aqsa Mosque. More than 20 people were killed. Dozens were wounded. The UN Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution censuring the evil deed. It was decided to send a UN mission to investigate events. And?

Israel simply ignored the request to receive representatives of the international community. A new Security Council resolution followed, confirming the previous decision. There was even a personal message from U.S. President G. Bush to Israeli Prime Minister I. Shamir calling for cooperation with the United Nations, but with no more success, to date.

Meanwhile the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories is becoming more heated. In the wake of the shooting of Palestinians in Jerusalem, three Israeli servicemen were killed. The rule "an eye for an eye" has triumphed again. Jewish demonstrators marched under the slogan "Death to Arabs." Calls to arms rang out among Palestinian radicals. The intifadah threatens to develop from a "war of stones" into a "war of daggers."

The Israeli military authorities are taking very tough measures. All roads by which Palestinians can enter and leave the occupied Arab territories have been closed indefinitely. More than 1.75 million inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have found themselves in military blockade conditions. Israeli Defense Minister M. Arens gave the order to use firearms and live ammunition against Palestinians.

In essence Israel's actions are playing into Iraq's hands. Attention is diverted from its aggression against Kuwait. The Arab world is polarized. The forces that supported Baghdad under the flag of strengthening the anti-Israel front are gaining strength. Finally, Israel's brazen disregard for UN decisions and missions gives Saddam Husayn his trump card. Why should he not behave in the same way?

I am inclined to think that against the background of Tel Aviv's ostentatious aggressiveness, Baghdad is even gaining points by showing a degree of restraint.

Iraqi diplomacy is active enough. Its contacts are continuous, even with those countries that demand severe punishment for the occupiers of Kuwait. This is illustrated by the recent visit to Baghdad by former British Prime Minister E. Heath.

Goodwill gestures succeed one another. The other day all the French hostages, some of the Americans and British, and the Bulgarians were freed. The evacuation of Soviet specialists continues. The Western press writes about this with a large dose of skepticism, as a trade in hostages. But nonetheless....

Let me observe that even Husayn's "prophetic dreams," which the press reported sensationally, contained the motifs of a political solution and withdrawal from Kuwait, while retaining, admittedly, the South Rumaila oilfield and the islands of Bubiyan and Warbah. These motifs had not been heard before. But now we find almost the same version of a settlement in a statement by the Saudi defense minister. Although it was quickly disavowed, a fact is still a fact. Furthermore, President S. Husayn's "dream" resulted in something real, in the form of a $5 fall in the inflated price of oil.

There have been other changes too. U.S. public opinion on the prospect of direct involvement in a military conflict with Iraq is changing markedly. Many thousands of people have taken part in antiwar demonstrations in the United States and France. Judging from their letters, Soviet people also take a negative view of the idea of our being drawn into a military confrontation.

But the opinion is also voiced that the United States, by building up its body of 200,000 men in Saudi Arabia, wants to exploit the situation to assert its own hegemonist role. In support of this thesis an American reader sent us a cutting from THE LOS ANGELES TIMES. It says, in particular, in the course of an analysis of the Persian Gulf situation, that Moscow "is not capable of playing the part of a full and equal partner, and the United States is establishing itself as the sole great power."

Unfortunately all the indications are that the vocabulary of the cold war is still not a thing of the past. Some people's heads are befuddled by claims to be the sole arbiter of the peoples' fates. They are illusory, and they are also harmful for the Americans themselves, particularly in a critical situation. You have only to recall, for example, that the United States is passing the hat around to collect funds to maintain its troops in Saudi Arabia. Unless this Army of theirs is entrusted with an international mission and operates along with others under the UN flag it will simply look like an army of mercenaries.

Furthermore, it is impossible to fail to see that U.S. hegemonism coupled with support for Israel manifestly scares the Saudis, for example. They would not like to be seen in Arabs' eyes as a regime propped up by American bayonets. Washington's claims to a special role put the Egyptians and the Syrians in a complicated position. There have been reports that their units in Saudi Arabia would prefer to sit it out and not participate in joint operations with the Americans against Iraq. Thus claims to hegemonism are boomeranging on the positions of the United States itself.

But let us return to the recent events that have exacerbated the situation on the Near East. They raise a multitude of questions. How long is Israel going to provoke the Arab world, complicating an already explosive situation? How long are the United States and Israel going to ignore the Palestinians' rights, pushing them into extremism? How long are they going to plow the soil on which adventurism in the most diverse forms flourishes luxuriantly?

It is clear that in such a situation Iraq obtains additional opportunities for maneuvering. But nevertheless it would be good to think that the moment of truth, a sobering moment will come, that the signals that Baghdad is displaying some flexibility are the result of a quest for compromise. There are grounds for such a conclusion. Intensive diplomatic contacts are being conducted, including by the USSR. According to the French newspaper CROIX-EVENEMENTS, the USSR is today in the position of a mediator, describing the mission of Ye.M. Primakov who has visited a number of countries as the special representative of our country's president.

Economic sanctions work as a long-term means of pressure. Food ration cards and gasoline rationing have been introduced in Iraq.

Like all people, incidentally, the Iraqis are frightened by the threat of a big war. And this threat is real. If isolation and blockade prove unsuccessful, force will be used, British Foreign Secretary D. Hurd stated recently. "The United States is fully determined to resist Iraq's aggression and systematic plundering of Kuwait, and crimes against humanity which it is committing in that Arab country," U.S. President G. Bush reiterates. He has just ordered that additional troop contingents be sent to Saudi Arabia over and above the 210,000 soldiers and officers currently in the Persian Gulf region. Their numbers will grow by a further 100,000 men. In addition, one tank division is being redeployed. The justification cited for the buildup of the U.S. military arsenal in the conflict zone is the further concentration of Iraqi troops. Over 400,000 Iraqi soldiers and officers have already been concentrated in Kuwait.

This is the reality. As far as room for maneuvering and diverting the Kuwaiti-Iraqi conflict into an anti-Israeli channel is concerned, it is pretty limited. Even given the pitch of passion in connection with the Israeli repressions against the Palestinians. What does the creation of an anti-Israeli front headed by Iraq mean? Knocking one together by analogy with Kuwait—which was violently subjected to brotherly ties and devoured?

Who and what would then be next? Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon? The overthrow of the regimes in Egypt and Syria? A series of internecine wars among the Arabs? The Palestinians have already had that kind of tragic experience in Jordan and Lebanon. Surely it has taught people something? In sowing the wind of aggression Baghdad risks reaping a whirlwind which will shake the Arab world first and foremost.

Saddam's Leadership Scrutinized

91UF0077A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Yu. Zinin: "Where the 'Father of the Nation' Is Leading It"]

[Text] Baghdad-Moscow—Wherever you go in Baghdad currently, you will see a person with a fixed smile, but dressed in various outfits: in civilian clothes, in military uniform with marshal's shoulder boards, in a checked Bedouin robe and wearing a turban—the arbiter of the fate of the 17 million-strong population of Iraq, President Saddam Husayn—staring out at this vain world from the walls of houses, from billboards in the squares, from portraits in establishments, stores, and hairdressers, and from the front pages of newspapers.

The 53-year-old president of Iraq is a native of Tikrit, a small town north of Baghdad, but it was in the capital that his potential as a forceful politician, unshakable in the realization of his goals, was revealed. Here, in Baghdad, while still a student, Saddam, a member of the clandestine Ba'th Party, took part in assassination attempts against two presidents. In 1968, he was one of the organizers of the revolution that brought this party to power. Since 1979, he has been chairman of the highest organ of power—the Revolutionary Command Council—president of the country and supreme commander in chief.

The presidential palace is on the left bank of the Tigris. Day and night it is under the eye of watchful guards in mottled uniform and crimson berets toting assault rifles. A wide street leads from there to the capital's prestigious Al-Mansour neighborhood, named in honor of the caliph who founded Baghdad in the eighth century.

Another relic of the city—the al-Qasimiyah district—is a place of pilgrimage for Shi'ites. The repose of two departed imams—spiritual mentors and contemporaries of the caliphs Al-Mansour and Haroun Rashid—is guarded here, as if frozen in time. The gilt of the cupolas and the four minarets of the mosque erected over their graves plays off the sun. The former's spacious courtyard is packed with pilgrims, some of whom come in whole families. Inside the place of worship the burial vault is surrounded by a ring of believers. Pressing their lips to the grill of the gravestone polished to a shine by kisses, they whisper prayers, and some, overcome by emotion, break into sobs.

Sheykh Omar Street, named in honor of the devout medieval Sufi, is packed with dozens of small auto works. Here swarthy boys polish the bodies of vehicles undergoing repair and rush about with pots of paint. There are entirely modern machine tools and equipment in the corrugated-iron garages. They set, cut, and paint. Spares may be purchased here also: bushing, rings, and various makes of gaskets, up to and including those for the 21st Volga, which has here been christened "the bear."

And this is all Baghdad with its diverse four million population, motley and contradictory, a segment of present-day Iraq, of a world that is rushing toward contemporaneity, but that is also hesitant to part with habitual ideas. And President Saddam Husayn's role cannot be understood unless one penetrates the essence of the prevailing ideology and considers a particular feature of Iraq—the cradle of many ancient civilizations in which despotic forms of rule have reigned down the ages.

As a correspondent in this country, I have attended many news conferences and meetings of the president—rais in Arabic. His speeches contain constant notes of homage to Iraq's past greatness and calls for a jump as quickly as possible into modernity in order, relying on the great oil wealth, to acquire the strength of an industrial power.

"We Arabs," he has declared, "are the natural continuation of our Babylonian and Assyrian forefathers."

But while recalling pages of the past might of Iraq, he complained that in the past eight centuries the Arab nation had begun to grow sickly and to sink into stagnation, and he called for a restoration of the Arabs' lost spirit and the riddance of tribal and clan prejudice.

The set goal, therefore, is "forging the new man," the patriot capable of making sacrifices in the name of the common cause. Everything has been subordinated to the idea of the use of national feelings and aspirations in the name of political self-assertion. This struggle is being conducted under the banner of Arab nationalism raised by Saddam Husayn—the symbol of the nation and its ideology.

The press, which is under the control of the authorities, is filled with sayings of the "rais" and his quotations on display stands and posters determine the stages, tasks and aims of development, enemies and allies and so forth. He gives piecemeal instructions to the military and government officials, fellahin and students, calls for consciousness and admonishes people how to behave in social life, at home and in the family.

Opening a Baghdad newspaper, the following such announcements may be read in a prominent spot. In accordance with a directive of the rais, who has visited some neighborhood or other, there is an order for the replacement of a fence, roof, or minaret of the local mosque, a school to be built, a street to be asphalted and so much land to be distributed. I have witnessed how, in the course of his tours of the country, the head of the country has handed out gifts: to adults, Japanese television receivers, refrigerators and air conditioners; to children, toys; and to the poor, crippled, and destitute he has simply distributed money.

At meetings with the people Saddam Husayn is demonstrably straightforward and accessible. He smiles, gives those with whom he speaks a friendly clap on the shoulder and light-heartedly tousles the hair of small children in their mothers' arms. The crowd responds warmly, as if having long awaited a chance to let out its energy and emotions. The aroused people begin in a single rhythm to spiritedly clap their hands, sing, dance, and chant slogans.

On his days off he usually sets off behind the wheel of a smart white Mercedes, frequently with his wife and children, for the villages nearest to Baghdad. Stopping, he enters people's homes and kisses the old men four times, Arab-style. As a rule, he takes a look in the homes in the refrigerators to see, allegedly, what the ordinary people eat. He sits at the hearth, sipping strong Iraqi tea, and chats with his compatriots.

The information organs propagandize an image of the president as father of the nation, living the concerns of its ordinary citizens, and directly linking him to Iraq's social gains: free education and health care, various allowances and subsidized prices of basic foodstuffs. Complaints and

requests of a personal nature are frequently addressed to the president, directly or via the press.

Relying on a powerful information and propaganda apparatus, the president appeals to Iraqis and their belief in their special role in the Arab world. A map of the Arab fatherland from Morocco to the Persian Gulf colored in green is ubiquitous in Iraq.

It is generally acknowledged that the country's policy is in the hands of the president, and everyone has to follow the route he has chosen. Saddam Husayn is characterized by decisiveness and brusqueness in the adoption and implementation of most important political and strategic decisions. His unshakability in achievement of the planned goal makes him and all Iraqis hostage to the adopted decisions.

Such a manner is reminiscent of the style of oriental despotic rule, with adjustments for the present day, of course: for devotion and performance efficiency before the forbidding leader people are generously rewarded. The retributionary Sword of Damocles hangs over offenders. To judge by everything, drastic measures in Iraq are the best means of ensuring at once compliance with adopted directives, whether in the political plane or in daily life.

It was once decided in Baghdad, as an emergency, to have done with general sloppiness when crossing the street. Those crossing the street at unauthorized spots were threatened with 15 days' imprisonment.

"In order to lead a people," the rais has said directly, "it is necessary that the people whom you are leading believe in your justice, even if the times require that you be cruel with your enemies."

Recent years have demonstrated an elevation of the cult of Saddam Husayn. Glorification of the president, comparison of him with the ancient rulers of Babylon and Assyria, the conferring of the president's name on localities and facilities, and the composition of songs and suites in his honor.

Against the background of the Arabs' wounded self-esteem on account of the lack of settlement of the Palestinian problem, the incapacity of many Arab leaders to solve urgent problems, and the crisis of the traditional forms of rule, the decisiveness and willpower of the Iraqi president are becoming a pole of attraction for those who are tired of waiting.

Peaceful Solution Seen Possible

LD2910154790 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] Is there still a chance to restore peace and avoid a major war in the Persian Gulf? This question has been actively debated by the United Nations Security Council and politicians at all levels. Considerable attention was given to this question during Mikhail Gorbachev's talks with Spanish and French leaders. Radio Moscow's Yuriy Solton elaborates:

Much was expected of this month's second trip by the Soviet President's special envoy, Yevgeniy Primakov, to the Middle East and southwest Asia. The Security Council even decided last Friday to delay debates over yet another anti-Iraq resolution until Monday, because Mr. Primakov was scheduled to meet with President Saddam Husayn on Sunday. During that meeting he handed the Iraqi president a message from Mikhail Gorbachev containing a firm demand that Baghdad withdraw all of its troops from Kuwait.

The two officials spent several hours discussing the explosive situation in the Gulf, but are reported to have failed to reach a breakthrough. The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, said he was not very optimistic of Mr. Primakov's mission. This is quite understandable at a time when a military strike on Iraq is becoming increasingly likely.

The leader of the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council, Mr. 'Abdullah Bisharah of Kuwait, told an emergency meeting of the council that no more than a week was left to persuade Iraq to leave Kuwait peacefully. Although this prediction may be too bold, the facts speak for themselves.

The American newspapers have reported that the Pentagon intends to add another 100,000 servicemen to the 220,000 already stationed in Saudi Arabia. Britain has been dispatching units of its seventh tank division to the area and has ordered that several hospitals be prepared to take care of the wounded, who may start arriving shortly. Last week heard many sharply worded anti-Iraq statements made by Western and several Arab leaders. The American president, George Bush, said in Honolulu that the Iraqi aggression would be stopped at any rate and cost. The American NBC television network says the president will continue demonstrating in no uncertain terms that the United States and its allies are seriously preparing for combat.

Officials in Moscow, too, maintain that the Iraqi invaders should be severely punished. This country intends to suport the Security Council's decisions and abide by the Helsinki agreement on joint Soviet-American action against the agressor; but one shouldn't think, however, that Yevgeniy Primakov's mission, which was a clear failure, was the last chance for peace.

The world should constently work for a peaceful settlement in the Gulf and the Arab nation should get actively involved in the process and put in their important and weighty view. Anyway, it would be a tragic mistake today to press for the military way of settling the conflict, which is fraught with the prospect of major war. However scanty they may seem, there still are chances to cope with the Gulf crisis peacefully.

Situation on the Ground in Baghdad Viewed

PM3010104590

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 27 October in its Union Edition under the rubric "Iraq: Ten Days in October" and headline "Landscape Before a Storm" carries on page six the first part of a report by special correspondents Yevg. Bay and V. Litovkin on a 10-day visit to Iraq made earlier in the month at the invitation of the Ministry of Information. The report paints a picture of life in the Iraqi capital, pointing out that, despite the international blockade of Iraq, the availability of goods still compares favorably with the present situation in the Soviet Union. However, IZVESTIYA's correspondents then make the following comment:

"Yet we could not rid ourselves of the feeling that the system was working flat out. Outwardly support for the regime is unshakable, and there is no organized opposition in the country. However, it seems to us that the Iraqis, unlike the Iranians, are not religious fanatics who will blindly follow their spiritual leader unto death. You feel that people in the country are tired of the constant confrontation and of the long war which was waged for purposes unknown to them and resulted in no concrete victories or territorial gains. The average Iraqi resembles a sleepwalker who for the time being does as he is told, being somewhat benumbed and distracted...."

After quoting Iraqis as saying that they "can hold out against such a blockade for 1,000 years," the report continues:

"Things are calm in Baghdad at present. At night numerous small stores in the city's trading alleys are bright with neon lights. Nighttime snack bars are open, although the choice of dishes in them has been sharply reduced. There is no curfew or state of siege, and movement about the city is not restricted at any time of night or day. No one threatens nighttime pedestrians, and there is virtually no crime in Baghdad.

"Yet there is a certain expectation in the air. It seems to have been electrified by expectation of the storm."

Foundation Sends Appeal to Iraqi Soldiers

LD2610214690 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—Anatoliy Bezuglov, president of the international non-governmental foundation "Eternal Glory to Soldiers", urged Iraqi soldies to "display discretion and mercy, to promote by all possible means the spreading of peaceful feelings among soldiers, the stopping of the madness and the withdrawal from the captured territories".

"Happiness for one's nation cannot be achieved through violence over another nation. Deep international conflicts cannot be settled with the help of violence," says the "Appeal to Iraqi Soldiers", circulated here today. As a result of the invasion of Kuwait, "the Arab-Israeli conflict, far from getting closer to a settlement, has reached a critical point". The war has not improved the situation of the much-suffering Palestinian people, the appeal pointed out.

The "Eternal Glory to Soldiers" foundation does not want more soldiers' graves, more suffering and casualties among the civilian population. Appealing to Iraqi soldiers, the president of the foundation pointed out that "the future of the conflict will eventually depend not on the rulers, but on you".

Saudi Business Concern Seeks Soviet Partners

PM2910134590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 90 Union Edition p 4

[Report by A. Ostalskiy: "SABIC Sets Precedents, Serious Intentions of Saudi Businessmen"]

[Text] The acronym SABIC means "Saudi Basic Industries Corporation." But in Arabic there is no uppercasing and the company's name is written and sounds like "he who takes the lead over others leaves them behind and sets the precedent."

This interpretation of the name of one of the largest firms in the Saudi kingdom has become totally symbolic. Even in Moscow, SABIC has overtaken not just other businessmen but also diplomats—by fulfilling, as it were, the role of its country's "charge d'affaires." After all, although full diplomatic relations have been established between our states (after an interruption of over half a century), there is no Saudi Embassy in Moscow yet and a certain period of time is needed for this to happen. But is this the reason for "Showing the Flag"—an international exhibition of paints and varnishes?.

Soon, I hope, this will become an ordinary phenomenon, but at the moment a thorough discussion with real, "100-percent" (as they themselves say) Saudis is a sensation even for an Arab specialist. Indeed the Soviet Union is still an "unknown territory" for them, and their first acquaintance with it is apparently inspiring and puzzling at the same time. It was not without reason that Fahd al-Shu'aybi, general manager of the European branch of SABIC, and leaders of other departments and companies Mustafa al-Sahn, Muhammad al-Bati, and Sa'd al-Yusuf asked me more questions than I asked them. They wanted to know everything—Is democracy in our country real, Is it possible that there will be a military coup in our country, but particularly—How serious is the USSR's adherence to the market economy and cooperation with foreign capital? And, naturally, such curiosity is far from idle. Rumors have even reached distant Riyadh not just about the rich potential but also about the bureaucratic labyrinths of the Soviet economy and its high resistance to reforms and common sense. Is it worth having dealings with the USSR or not? It appears that the Saudi company would be prepared to take a risk—within reasonable limits, of course. "We do

not want to miss the boat," was how al-Shu'aybi formulated SABIC's desire to make its presence felt in our market.

My interlocutors told me that the important Saudi company, whose income and turnover are measured in billions of dollars, does not just specialize in paints and varnishes but also manufactures over 12 million tonnes of basic industrial goods both for the domestic market and for export: thermoplastics, petrochemical products, fertilizers, steel, and aluminum. The corporation involves over 33 industrial enterprises, which use the latest high-efficiency technology. The quality of its goods enables the company to compete successfully on the world market. Recently SABIC has been pursuing an active investment policy, and the company's aim in the long term is to manufacture up to 20 percent of its output abroad, so they are concerned about the USSR not just as a potential market but also as a place to invest capital and technology. Among the 25 or so projects the company is putting forward, some are quite suitable for cooperation with the USSR, the company leaders say. This includes examining the possibility of non-currency exchanges of output.

The guests praised our country and spoke about Russian hospitality (which they had already heard something about) and about the unexpected sense of humor (which they thought was extremely close to the Arab sense of humor). In general the country turned out to be completely different from what they expected—not better or worse, but different. For me this meeting debunked a myth that is widely circulated even among orientalists that the Saudis are enormously rich and haughty Bedouins who are incapable of understanding the intricacies of contemporary civilization and can only sit in charge of the wealth that has been given them by fate and multiplied by many foreigners—hired workers and intellectuals. No, there could be no doubt about it: I was faced with normal—that is, highly educated, literate—businessmen who did not waste time but were prepared to work indefatigably in the name of "King Profit." When pursuing talks with potential Soviet partners and gathering information, they worked in Moscow without taking days off, established many useful contacts, and handed out on all sides visiting cards which had been preprinted... in Russian.

Briefly, by all accounts SABIC is full of determination to set more precedents.

New Pakistani Government Policies Previewed

BK2710161890 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1300 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Commentary by Aleksandr Batev]

[Text] Commenting on the outcome of Pakistani elections, Radio Moscow commentator Aleksandr Batev writes: By securing 105 seats in the National Assembly, the Islamic Democratic Alliance [IDA] has acquired the strength of playing a decisive role in the formation of a new government in the country. This new government will probably be more stable than that of the previous Pakistan People's Party. Since it has secured a substantial majority in the National Assembly, it will not face the threat of a no-confidence motion that had constantly threatened Benazir Bhutto's government. The IDA government will face a threat only if differences among its component parties intensify. As a matter of fact, it was only the desire of taking over power from the PPP that had kept these parties glued together. Then, what can the implications be for the country's political situation?

First of all, I think, the court proceedings against the members of the erstwhile government of the PPP, accused of bribery, will slacken. Since these legal actions have deprived the PPP of the chances of winning recent elections, these actions are likely to be slowed down, as they are probably not much needed now. If these court proceedings are completed and Benazir Bhutto is barred from taking part in political activities, it can cause more harm than good to the IJI leaders. As I have already stated, now Benazir Bhutto and her supporters are not in a position to cause any serious impediments in the government's activities in parliament. If Bhutto is totally eliminated from the political field, it may cause a major setback to Pakistan's relations with Western countries, especially the United States, because during her rule, Benazir Bhutto had proved very popular in those countries.

It would be very important for the new Pakistani Government to maintain normal relations with the West, because it needs to acquire a loan of $3 billion in the near future. Its first task will be to persuade Washington to resume aid to Islamabad. The aid was suspended due to apprehensions in the United States about Pakistan's weapons-oriented nuclear program. The Pakistani authorities will try to assure the U.S. administration that Washington's suspicions are groundless. The more cordial the U.S.-Pakistan relations, the easier it will be for Islamabad to assure Washington in this regard. The court proceedings against the PPP leaders are one of the factors that are adversely affecting these relations. Even if Islamabad succeeds in acquiring foreign financial assistance, the new government will have to adopt several economic measures much to the dislike of the people. For example, they will have to increase the prices of petroleum products in view of the Persian Gulf crisis.

It is very likely that the IJI government will adopt a firmer stand than ever before on both domestic and foreign policies. By this, I mean Pakistan's relations with India and its stand on the Afghanistan problem. The IJI leaders have repeatedly accused the Benazir Bhutto government of adopting an exceptionally soft attitude toward them, and now perhaps they will try to prove that Pakistan's leadership is in strong hands. Presently, the question arises whether these strong hands will be able to solve Pakistan's domestic and foreign policy problems. You might recall that even during General Ziaul Haq's military dictatorial regime up to 1988, which was definitely stronger than the future government, Pakistan's problems were not solved. It would probably be fitting to

say here that problems had been further exacerbated during Zia's regime. Will Pakistan's IJI government be able to find any means, other than its strength, to solve these problems?

TASS Views Pakistan's Aims in Central Asia

LD2910165190 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 29 Oct 90

[By TASS political analyst Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—At a meeting on Sunday with Soviet reporters accredited in Kabul, President Najibullah of Afghanistan pointed to the danger for Soviet Muslems, especially in Central Asia, of subversive activities in the USSR by Afghan fundamentalist Islamic parties.

Najibullah singled out Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, the fanatical and extremist leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, who is especially active in this field.

The danger to which the Afghan president pointed is quite real. Many activists of fundamentalist parties are trained in Pakistan at special centres of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan led by Burhanuddin Rabbani.

Hikmatyar agents are known to have visited the Soviet bank of the Pyanj and Amu-Darya Rivers on special assignments. There is also evidence that the secret services of several countries are participating in such activities.

Representatives of Afghan security forces described 17 main routes along which fundamentalist agents with subversive literature, narcotics and even arms worm their way into the Soviet Central Asian republics.

It is clear that Afghan rebel groups are operating not on their own but in close contact with foreign secret services, above all with the ISI (Pakistani Army Intelligence). Islamabad's role in these activities is especially interesting. Ziaul-Haq, the former Pakistani dictator, said in the summer of 1988, shortly before his death in an air crash, "the new Afghan Government (after the overthrow of President Najibullah—TASS) will be truly Islamic, a part of Islamic renaissance which will spread sometime to Soviet moslems".

He specified that he had in mind the population of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Ziaul-Haq passed into oblivion during the past two years, and his plans to plant a fundamentalist government led by Hikmatyar in Kabul ended in failure. But the Pakistani military establishment inherited Ziaul-Haq's political testament.

This treatment is concealed behind the innocent codename "Regional Strategic Consensus" which, according to the idea of Chief of the Pakistani Army General Staff Mirza Aslam Beg, will unite Pakistan, Iran and Turkey on the fundamentalist Islamic basis.

In the future, a "Moslem" Afghanistan as well as the Soviet Central Asian republics, will also join a "great Moslem world". This idea has been acclaimed by some Pakistani newspapers.

The Pakistani Embassy in the USSR circulated several days ago a refutation by the Pakistani Foreign Ministry, denying the ISI's involvement in such activities. Facts, however, are stubborn things.

West Europe

Reports Continue on Gorbachev-Mitterand Talks

PRAVDA Publishes Cooperation Treaty

PM3010110990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct Second Edition 90, pp 1, 4

[Treaty on accord and cooperation between the USSR and the French Republic signed by President Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze for the Soviet Union, and President Francois Mitterand, Prime Minister Michel Rocard, and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas for France, at Rambouillet Chateau, France on 29 October]

[Text] The USSR and the French Republic,

Basing themselves on long traditions of friendship and cooperation and also on the preferential relations which have become firmly established between them;

Convinced of the need for rapprochement between states on the basis of common human values, freedom, democracy, justice, and solidarity;

Striving, through interaction and cooperation with other states, to ensure humanity a period of peace and prosperity;

Aware of their special responsibility as permanent members of the Security Council for maintaining international peace and security;

Loyal to the United Nations' Charter and confirming the obligations undertaken by them within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe;

And taking into consideration the powers of the European Communities and the prospects for the transformation of these Communities into a political alliance, and equally the transformations taking place in the Soviet Union;

Have resolved to impart a new quality to the policy of accord pursued by them and for this purpose, have agreed on the following:

Article One

The USSR and the French Republic look on one another as friendly states and base their relations on trust, solidarity, and cooperation.

Europe

Article Two

The sides will pool their efforts to overcome the division of the European continent into antagonistic blocks and to transform it into a peaceful Europe of solidarity endowed with permanent mechanisms of security and cooperation. They stress the role that the CSCE process should play in this.

The sides are to facilitate the transformation of Europe into a community of law and democracy. They are to cooperate to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between themselves and all European states, leading to Europe being turned into a common home and to the creation of a European confederation.

Article Three

The creation of a single community for the whole of Europe presupposes that each of the European states will base their systems and policies on the following principles:

—the right of all peoples freely to determine their destiny without external interference and to carry out their economic, social, and cultural development as they see fit;
—respect for the dignity and rights of man, protection of basic freedoms, the creation of a rule-of-law state, and the safeguarding of democracy;
—respect for social justice, collective freedoms, and individual initiative;
—protection of natural assets and cultures of all nations.

The creation of such a Europe also presupposes that relations between European states will be determined by the following principles:
—respect for sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence;
—inviolability of borders;
—renunciation of the threat or use of force, apart from those cases envisaged by the UN Charter;
—the right of every state to decide for itself on the defensive measures and alliances that it needs, while observing international undertakings;
—an undertaking to resolve disputes by peaceful means in accordance with international law;
—acceptance of general juridical principles as a means of harmonising the legal systems of European countries.

The Soviet Union and France undertake to promote all of these principles.

Article Four

France pledges to promote the development of deeper relations and the conclusion of agreements between the Soviet Union and the European Community. French obligations under the bilateral Soviet-French agreements are in accordance with the competence that belongs to the European Communities and the judicial norms adopted by the institution of these communities.

Article Five

The sides are to facilitate the development of cooperation in Europe being accompanied by strengthening of the bonds of solidarity between Europe and other regions and continents.

International Security and Cooperation

Article Six

The Soviet Union and France have agreed to expand and deepen the consultations being held between their governments.

The subject of these consultations will be the key problem of today, the strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe and the world, the development of bilateral relations, and any other issues which are of mutual interest.

The sides will strive to bring their positions as close as possible with the aim of carrying out joint or coordinated actions.

They are to cooperate in the area of analyzing and forecasting the basic trends of world developments by means of holding special consultations and carrying out joint research.

In the event of situations arising which, in the opinion of either side, create a threat to peace or violate peace or which give rise to international tension, the governments of the Soviet Union and France will immediately contact each other in order to reach accords on all aspects of these situations, harmonize their positions as much as possible, and reach agreement on measures which would make it possible to improve the position or handle the situation and act jointly.

If either side takes the view that a situation arising concerns its highest security interests it can ask the other side for consultations on this issue to take place between them immediately.

Article Seven

In their international activity the USSR and France are proceeding from the fact that concord and cooperation between them represent an important constant factor in world politics. They will step up interaction in the spheres of ensuring international security, of developing cooperation in the world and of effectively fulfilling the provisions in the UN Charter. They will assist the prevention of international conflicts.

The sides recognize the primacy of the international law in international relations.

Proceeding from the inadmissibility of the threat of force and its use in international relations they will take advantage of every opportunities they have, to settle controversial international problems by peaceful means.

They will act in this way in order to exploit any opportunity to settle conflicts envisaged in the UN Charter, in particular, by setting in motion the appropriate mechanisms of the organization.

The USSR and France will increasingly devote more attention to global problems that humanity is facing, especially in its fight against famine and epidemics.

The sides will come out in favor of industrially developed countries extending their aid to developing counties, taking into account their economic possibilities and, at the same time, guided by international practice.

They will cooperate, especially in various international economic organizations of which they are members, to arrange effective mechanisms for stabilizing prices on raw material commodities.

Article Eight

The sides undertake to develop cooperation within the framework of the international economic system. In the event one of the sides wishes to establish relations of cooperation with an international organization of which it is not a member, the other side will lend it its assistance.

The sides will cooperate closely within the framework of the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

Disarmament

Article Nine

The sides agree that the carrying out of defensive military policy and the implementation by all states of the principle of sufficiency represent a decisive contribution to European and international security.

The sides are convinced of the need to implement in stages universal and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control [kontrol]. To this end, they will interact at all international talks in which both take part.

Article 10

The sides will act jointly within the framework of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe in order to facilitate an increase in stability on the European continent and progress in the process of a balanced reduction in conventional weapons and a strengthening of trust. They will cooperate in the matter of implementing appropriate measures for setting up institutes within the framework of the CSCE, in particular, and in the setting up and activities of a center to prevent conflicts.

They commit themselves to rigorously obeying the agreed measures of trust and also to aid in the elaboration, on a multilateral and bilateral basis, of new measures of trust.

The sides acknowledge contributions other European organizations can also make in guaranteeing security and stability in Europe and they will strive to cooperate with them, with these aims, taking into account their own corresponding obligations.

Bilateral Cooperation

Article 11

Proceeding from the decisive significance of contacts between the presidents of the USSR and of the French Republic for the definition of the main trends in their cooperation, the sides agreed that summit meetings would be held at least once a year and also each time when the need for this might arise, in particular by means of realizing unofficial working contacts.

Meetings between members of the governments of both states will be held on issues representing mutual interest.

The ministers of foreign affairs will hold consultations as necessary and not less than twice a year.

Meetings between defense ministers will be held regularly.

The sides will implement periodic consultations on the level of experts.

Article 12

The Soviet Union and France will ensure the diversification of their bilateral relations, taking account of the decentralized structures that exist in their two countries.

Article 13

The sides will develop their mutually advantageous cooperation in the fields of the economy, industry, science, and technology with the objective of raising the standard of living of the people in both countries and making efficient use of their human and material resources.

To these ends they will seek the accelerated implementation of such accords as exist between them. New agreements or programs will be drawn up as necessary.

An intergovernmental commission on economic, industrial, scientific and technical cooperation will aid the strengthening of cooperation within the spheres of its competency.

Article 14

The sides will develop close cooperation in spheres which have special significance for their future and prospectively for the creation of a European space, in particular in the following spheres:

—the development of agriculture;
—the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, in particular the safety of atomic power engineering;
—transport and infrastructure;
—high definition television;

—space;
—industrial reconversion;
—the distribution network;

With these aims they will facilitate the conclusion of appropriate agreements.

They will encourage the establishment of relations of cooperation between state enterprises of both countries.

Article 15

The sides attach paramount significance to protection of the environment. They are committed to extending bilateral cooperation and to facilitating an increase in concerted actions in this sphere, on a European and on an international scale.

Article 16

Striving toward the creation of favorable conditions for joint initiatives and projects, the sides will encourage new forms of cooperation, including direct links between partners from the two countries.

They will strive toward an improvement in the operating conditions of enterprises from the partner countries, in particular in spheres of direct investment and the protection of invested capital.

They will aid the widest possible exchange of economic information and access to information for business people and scholars from both countries.

Article 17

Wishing to assist the transition of the USSR to a market economy, the sides will pay special attention to the development of cooperation in this direction, including, in particular, the training of qualified specialists for working in the economic and social spheres. If necessary, they will conclude agreements to this effect.

Article 18

The sides will hold consultations and implement cooperation programs on problems in economics, law, the organization of structures, and state administration.

Article 19

Striving to fully exploit the technological achievements of the modern world, the USSR and France will develop cooperation in the spheres of fundamental and applied research, while taking into account the economic and industrial feasibility of implementing the results. They will assist the promotion of joint projects which fit with European and international programs.

In the sphere of the latest technology, the sides will encourage the creation of associations and joint projects, while respecting appropriate national rules. They will especially bear in mind the enhancement of the level of competence and efficiency of managers' activities.

They will promote an exchange of young, highly qualified research staff and scientists.

Cultural Cooperation

Article 20

The Soviet Union and France, relying on the long-standing traditions of close cultural links between the peoples of both countries and wishing to make a more active contribution to the creation of a cultural space open to all European peoples, will develop their own exchanges in the spheres of culture, education, and information.

The sides will facilitate the conclusion of agreements between higher educational establishments and research centers and cooperation between universities in Europe, taking into account the appropriate European programs. They will also encourage the study of the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union in France and of the French language in the Soviet Union. The standing committee for education issues is empowered, acting within the framework of the Soviet-French commission for cultural cooperation, to aid the advancement of these issues.

Devoting special attention to projects that are part of the European perspective, the Soviet Union and France will encourage joint initiatives in the sphere of audio-visual media, cinematography, book publishing, theater, music, and the fine arts.

Article 21

With the aims of more extensive acquaintance and mutual understanding between Soviet and French youth, the sides will encourage the development of exchanges between the two countries on various levels.

Other Spheres of Cooperation

Article 22

The Soviet Union and France will develop humanitarian cooperation, aiding in particular the activities of charitable organizations from both countries.

Article 23

The competent bodies of the Soviet Union and France will coopeate in the struggle against organized crime and against the illegal turnover of drugs and contraband, including the illegal transportation of works of art across borders. They will strive to establish appropriate cooperation in the struggle against international terrorism.

Article 24

The sides will develop and deepen contacts and exchanges along military lines. They will regularly, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, exchange opinions on military doctrines.

Meetings at the level of the general staff of the USSR Armed Forces and of the staff of the French Armed

Forces, as well as of the headquarters of the different branches of Armed Forces, will be held reguarly.

Bilateral exchange programs between the Armed Forces of the USSR and France, directed toward the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust, will be elaborated.

Article 25

The Soviet Union and France commit themselves, within the shortest possible time limit, to reaching an agreement on the settlement of mutual financial and property claims concerning the interests of physical and legal entities of both countries.

Article 26

The sides commit themselves to taking the necessary measures aimed at simplification on the basis of reciprocity of the procedure for issuing and extending visas.

They will render, on a reciprocal basis, the utmost assistance in the activities on their territories of the diplomatic and consular representations of the other side.

They will conclude between them an agreement on mutual legal aid in civic affairs.

Article 27

The statutes of this treaty do not affect in any way the sides' obligations to third states and are not directed against any third state.

Article 28

The treaty is being concluded for a period of 10 years. Its validity will be automatically renewed for further five-year periods if neither of the agreeing sides notifies the other about its decision to denounce the treaty, by written notification, one year in advance of theexpiry of the given period.

The treaty is subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each side, and will take effect after 30 days upon the exchange of the ratification documents.

Executed in Rambouillet on 29 October 1990, in two copies, in French and Russian, both having equal force.

[Signed] For the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic: M. Gorbachev, president of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics; Minister of Foreign Affairs E. Shevardnadze

[Signed] For the French Republic: F. Mitterand, president of the French Republic; Prime Minister M. Rocard; Minister of Foreign Affairs R. Dumas

Presidents Hold News Conference

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[News conference with President Mikhail Gorbachev and French President Francois Mitterrand and unidentified correspondents at the Rambouillet Chateau in Paris on 29 October—Mitterrand's remarks are in French with superimposed Russian translation; recorded]

[Text] [Mitterrand] Ladies and gentlemen, we are opening our news conference. As you could see for yourselves, we have been in Rambouillet Chateau since the morning. President Gorbachev and I started our talks yesterday evening, literally in the car, upon leaving Orly Airport for Paris, and then during dinner, and then during a private dinner. This morning we met at 1000. We left for Rambouillet together in order to continue our talks. We conducted them right in the car before arriving here, and after arriving here we immediately held necessary discussions regarding the agenda. During that time, the corresponding ministers gathered together for a conference, too. They discussed their issues in order to complete (?drawing up) the accords that had been envisaged in advance. Speaking about ministers, a whole series of various accords was signed while Mr. Gorbachev and myself were discussing issues; I will give you a list of these issues in a moment.

So, what agreements were signed after Mr. Dumas and Mr. Shevardnadze exchanged letters? The protocol on a financial agreement signed by Mr. Voronin and Mr. Beregovoy. Briefly speaking, the French Government is giving financial aid to the tune of five billion francs; a program for economic, industrial, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries for the 1991-95 period. This program was signed by Mr. Beregovoy, on the French side, and by Mr. Voronin, from the Soviet side. It includes such corresponding sectors as power engineering, petrochemistry, agricultural machinery, food, railway and motor transport, electronics, information science, telecommunications, high-resolution television and environmental protection. Yet another agreement between our two governments was signed; it relates to cooperation in the area of employment, labor and professional training. This agreement was signed by Mr. Shcherbakov on the Soviet side and Mr. Soisson on the French side. Its goal is the professional training of cadres for a competitive labor market, the training of specialists in employment and human resources, and of trade union cadres. And yet another protocol was signed on cooperation between enterprises belonging to the Soviet and French state sectors.

The establishment of links for cooperation between the two countries' state enterprises, for example, the USSR Ministry of Power Engineering and Electrification and the French Ministry of Electrification, is being examined. This includes professional training and exchange of probationers. Finally, an agreement between the National Center for Scientific Research and the USSR

Academy of Sciences was signed by Mr. Marchuk for the Soviet side and by Mr. (Kouriski) for the French side in order to develop programs for joint research, information exchange, joint laboratory work, and international programs in the field of scientific cooperation.

And finally, some time ago, literally just a moment ago, Mr. Gorbachev and myself, and also the prime ministers and the ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries signed an accord on concord and cooperation. This accord on concord and cooperation acquires a special importance thanks to the scale of the problems tackled, but it also has a special aspect, for we had not signed a similar accord for many years. To be more specific we had not signed such an accord for over 10 years.

The main issues mentioned during talks between the Soviet Union and the French Republic, naturally touched upon all these problems, and we noted with satisfaction that we had managed to make progress so quickly and successfully in such important areas, thereby stressing the importance both we and the Soviet side attach to them in the matter of developing our relations. During our talks, we touched upon various political issues relating to the accord on concord and cooperation. We spoke about Europe's development, about the new balance that is taking shape on the horizon, about the future summit within the framework of the CSCE, scheduled for 19-21 November. We spoke about how this conference should be prepared, about how to present the situation to emerge after the Paris conference and, finally, we spoke about the Persian Gulf.

These are the political issues I have listed; I listed the economic agreements earlier. So, these are the data on the basis of which you can put questions of your choice. But perhaps to Mr. Gorbachev, who I have enormous pleasure to receive once again, I once again attest our cordiality and hospitality. I would like to wish that the Soviet Union succeed under his leadership. I wish to thank Mrs. Raisa Gorbacheva, who has kindly decided to accompany her spouse on this trip.

[Gorbachev] You made such a good job of your introduction that my task has been greatly simplified. To a considerable extent I could go along with what President Francois Mitterrand has said. Yes, indeed, the time limit we set for this meeting was determined by the fact that we did a lot of work beforehand, and ended up by preparing what are perhaps the first such major documents in our cooperation. Mr. President rounded off his report by describing the signing of the accord and Cooperation Treaty as the (?greatest) event in our relations of at least the past decade. I want to start by expressing the thought—essentially my opinion—that it is logical for us to end up with this document.

If we go back a bit into history we can see that there have been similar political declarations. We set out with these, but they did not always make policy bear fruit, and instead remained mere guidelines. In this instance we have displayed wisdom, caution, and a considered approach, and over the past few years have been making headway toward emerging with this important document for cooperation between our peoples and states.

I fully share the high rating accorded to this document by Mr. President. In the time I have been here we have held at least four conversations. Essentially, we have been holding nonstop talks. At the same time the foreign ministers and all the members of the delegations have been holding talks. Therefore, a great deal of work has been done in a short time at the concluding stage of Soviet-French dialogue and cooperation. I might say that this likewise reflects the new level of cooperation, the new level of mutual understanding between the leadership of the two countries, and this enables us to discuss major issues effectively, and to end up with results that then find expression in the relevant accords.

Mr. President mentioned the subjects around which our conversations revolved. I would say, in confirmation of his information, that yes, the issues and problems of the current time, and of the global changes that have demanded a very high standard in world politics and from politicians, were at the top of the agenda. Thanks to the current generation of politicians and the mood the peoples were able to engender, we have emerged at the point where we are leaving behind the cold war period and are entering a new phase. We hope this will be a phase of effective peaceful cooperation, but these same politicians bear the responsibility, especially at the initial stage, to restrain these new processes that are immediately being subjected to very serious tests, as you can see. That also was a subject of our talk.

The president and I cast our eyes over the transformations that have led to the change in the disposition of forces and the regrouping of forces within the framework of the process that is underway in world politics. We viewed the roles of France and the Soviet Union, and the role of the Soviet-French dialogue and factors from this angle. It has always had an independent significance. We consider that this experience of cooperation and the intellectual political level at which it takes place has led us to hope, over the last few years. that today, too, the Soviet-French factor will play an important role in both European and world politics.

Yes, in this connection we talked about Europe; in this connection we talked about how ready we are and where we are heading, and to what conclusions. In connection with the upcoming Paris meeting—this is a very important event—the president and I spoke of how we must take with us everything we have been able to do in the framework of Helsinki-1 as baggage, as experience and as an achievement, and, at the same time, reflect in the documents all the new realities and the things we must bear in mind today, where we all find ourselves together.

This is a very responsible task. I would say that we cannot permit this major meeting not only to suffer failure [as heard]—I do not think this will occur as thorough preparations are being made for it. We can

already say that it will be a success, but we want it to be a major success, for the topic under discussion is the way in which we will live together, in cooperation with one another, in an already completely new historical epoch.

I confirm that the president and I spoke a lot about the situation in the Persian Gulf. I can affirm further progress in our dialogue, in the comparison of our positions and in mutual understanding on all the very important issues of bilateral cooperation—that was presented by the president in the parameters that it encompasses—and on major issues of world politics. I again express my profound satisfaction with the meeting with the French president, with whom I am constantly conducting a dialogue, using all forms. First and foremost we value our personal contacts, we prize them. But we also converse and correspond and this allows... [changes thought] I think it was necessary to act in this way, and all the more so now when the world is changing so quickly. We are participants in the whole of this stormy process. Thank you.

[Correspondent] President Gorbachev has just confirmed to us that you spoke a lot about the Gulf. Since the French hostages, fortunately, are returning this evening, I would like to know what President Gorbachev thinks about this release. What means does he intend to use in order to achieve such a release of the Soviet hostages who remain, as before, in Iraq?

[Gorbachev] No doubt other questions will follow, so I am not going to go into the topic in detail, but when we talk about the Persian Gulf and the urgent situation that has arisen as a result of the Iraqi aggression and the annexation of Kuwait, we are talking about a very serious crisis in which we find ourselves. There is a great deal that concerns us here since it is taking place right at the start of the restructuring of international relations—of which I have spoken—and our cooperation is being put to a very serious test. I think the United Nations is acting in a spirit of great responsibility to its peoples, and the president and I have once again confirmed that we are committed to the unity that has arisen and will adhere staunchly and consistently to cooperation with all the participants in making these decisions so that this situation might be resolved on the basis of the principled approaches formulated by the Security Council. That is the first thing. We cannot tolerate, nor should we provide Iraq and the regime of President Husayn with any pretext for being able to think of hope for any dissension or weakening of our position. No, we are convinced that all these decisions were correctly dictated by a great sense of responsibility and concern for the world.

There is here the problem of those people from many countries who are working for Iraq, including many Soviet people. Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union and to cooperation from the Iraqi leadership, a considerable number have already returned. We are continuing—there are still around 3,000 there now—we are continuing to act in the same vein—we have a special government commission at work on this—in order to resolve this problem completely and to remove it from the agenda. We cannot fail to pay attention even to a single person, and we will maintain this firm approach to the end, presenting President Husayn and the Iraqi Government with a firm and principled position in order to solve this problem.

We consider it to be immoral to use, for political purposes, as hostages, people who were invited there by the Iraqi Government, people who were solving many questions of economic development in the interests of the iraqi people, doing work that is intended to strengthen Afghanistan's [as heard] economic might and improve people's lives. We resolutely condemn such behavior, and President Husayn knows this. This was stated again by Comrade Primakov during his talks yesterday with Iraq's leadership, including President Husayn. The iraqi side has given new instructions for a review of this humanitarian problem, that we regard as very important. We will act in a spirit of great responsibility for the lives of our people.

[Correspondent] Mr. President Gorbachev, [word indistinct] you are reported as saying that there are signs that Iraq might abandon its policy of ultimatums. Do you reiterate these words now that Mr. Primakov's mission to Baghdad is over? if yes, what are these signs? [words indistinct] according to the press, you allegedly said that an armed conflict could break out very soon. Did you say those words? Is this assertion correct? Do you still hold the same view now?

[Gorbachev] You have posed possibly the most difficult, and at the same time the most important—the main—question. I would like to answer it with absolutely frankness. I speak for myself. But I should point out straight away that the president of France and I discovered that there is a large degree of mutual understanding between us on this question. We consider the action taken by the world community following Iraq's aggression and the annexation of Kuwait to be justified. We must do all we can to make sure that this unity is maintained. We must strive to ensure that these demands are met. But I think that even though troops from the United States and other countries are in the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia, despite this fact, it is still a political solution that we should be seeking. A military solution of this problem is unacceptable to us and, I think, everybody else. But President Husayn should not try to cash in on this. Step by step we must do all we can to compel the leaders of that country to understand that they are defying commonsense and placing the entire world, including their own people, in danger. This behavior can only be described as adventurism. Everything here must be assessed directly and openly, so to speak. This is acting as a united front but, at the same time, we are searching for a method of reaching a political solution, by putting pressure and providing the opportunity, or by taking part in the process of seeking a political solution. There are terms that must be unconditionally fulfilled.

You ask what Primakov's mission has demonstrated. Primakov's mission is not some independent branch of this process. More than that, it is not opposed to, but rather an integral part of our combined efforts. Many such visits, meetings, and conversations are being held, and they are being undertaken from various sides. Some are open and known to the press, while others are proceeding behind closed doors. This merely demonstrates that we need to act more quickly before the situation gets out of hand.

At 0500 today I received a telegram from Baghdad. There have been meetings there. In the last few days, as we understand, reports have reached us via the press that there is certain information—but I cannot list what precisely, first, second, third, as you no doubt expect—to the effect that under the pressure of circumstances and, above all, the unity that is being and will be preserved, and the toughness of sanctions, that may also be increased, certain signs are appearing that the Iraqi leadership may, finally, heed commonsense and the voice of the whole United Nations.

Primakov's conversations reveal that President Husayn's position is not the same as it was a short while ago. He has had some second thoughts. And I believe the sooner the Iraqi president understands and decides to go some way toward meeting the appeals from, above all, the Arab countries and the Security Council, the sooner this dangerous knot will be unravelled using political approaches. This does not mean that in this instance we have altered our position. No, indeed, it remains as before. We are seeking—and I believe that time has now come to do this—to employ the Arab factor properly. And on this point certain positive movement is possible. I admit this possibility, and even hope that this will occur. It would be the most acceptable path for us all to explore. But there are requirements that must be fulfilled. They are well-known and I do not wish just to repeat them. So, we want this knot to be unravelled using political means. But the situation is growing more acute and everyone should act vigorously. If President Husayn expects to be able to divide us, disunite us, and searth out cracks in the stance of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, then I believe he is deluding himself. And politics cannot be built on delusion.

[Mitterrand] I would answer your specific question connected with the statement whose authorship I am surprised at in just the following fashion: I fully support what I said but I have always disowned what I have not said and there are incidentally many more of these claims than there were in actual fact and this happens day and night I assure you. Let us stop this. But your question does concern the essence of the problems. I repeat to anyone and everyone including representatives of the press, and I have done this repeatedly, that the main data of the problem we face have not substantially changed since 2 August. I can well see how events are developing that may lead to armed conflict. So far I cannot see any signs of another process with the exception—and it is this exception that is now perhaps taking on the most substantial significance—with the exception if the decisions adopted by the Security Council are implemented on a united front. With the exception if the unity of the permanent members of the Security Council is permanent, so that there are no doubts regarding the clarity of the principles set down whose implementation, whose fulfillment might mark a new stage, on the one hand the embargo on the other hand a continual repetition of certain simple principles that you are familiar with. These main directions, i.e. unity, firmness, fulfillment of the measures on which the Security Council adopted decisions, all these directions undoubtedly do not exclude our desire for a peaceful settlement, quite the opposite. It is for this purpose that the said directions and decisions were adopted, for the sake of a peaceful solution that would restore respect for human rights, for independence of a state in accordance with international law, and starting from this everything that ensures affirmation of peace will only be welcomed by us. Undoubtedly everyone must do everything in his power not to deviate from the path he has embarked on.

Yes go ahead. Now I would like to let a representative of the Soviet press speak.

[Correspondent] I have a question for the president of France. Mr. Mitterrand, in connection with the coming European summit conferences, can you say a few words about the idea of a European Confederation and how it will be integrated with the idea of the common European home, I mean its construction?

[Mitterrand] You know here I do not want to get into a commentary that will drag on for too long. Taking into account the new map of Europe, taking into account the end of the coald war, the start of cooperation between what was called the West and the East, it is obvious that if the Western countries were absolutely justified in insisting on their path, i.e. unity of Europe, of the European Community, in order to improve Europe, and moving in the direction of a single market that will emerge in a short time now, then along with all this, there are, nevertheless, plenty of countries and peoples that currently do not have any absolutely precise orientation of any kind, that could feel isolated, and that feel the need for substantial efforts to restore their economic situation. It is, therefore, tuieq normal that there should be solidarity among the diverse European countries, we will not talk about the West, the Center, the East. All of this, all of these countries have an equal right to consider themselves Europe. they share the same ancient history, a long and ancient history, (?let us) consider that they now have to remove everything that has been hampering them, to look at how they can all now get down to Common construction, how they can attain peace and progress in Europe, while respecting the dignity, of course, of each of us. Within the scope of the European Community of the 12, this dignity is observed.

The weight of the so-called small or poor countries, I would take as examples Ireland, or Portugal, or Greece, their weight in taking common decisions, or with the aid

of the right of veto, is just as great as the weight of the FRG, Britain, France, and the other states, Spain, Italy, and so on. The situation will be precisely the same in the Europe of the future, of tomorrow. Without resorting to any harsh terms that are not accepted by everyone but that operate in the community, and demand the most rigorous discipline. Some kind of structures for meeting could be determined, structures for joint examination and discussion of certain common issues, and believe me, there are plenty of them; for example, issues concerning various models, as—it would, moreover, be very useful if the United States and Canada could be present—or such issues that are linked with the European Economic Community, that are linked with renouncing (?armament) by others, permanent structures, and so on—all of this is what requires careful, permanent exchanges.

When I was talking on the issues concerning a European confederation, on 31 December last year, addressing the French people, it is precisely this that I recalled as applied to Europe itself. And there was the possibility there, more than once, of defending the concept of a common home. Together with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, we have been defending the same ideas, although the procedures for achieving them might be different, and this still has to be discussed, or say the idea advanced by the Czechoslovak president, the Polish government—these are the kind of ideas that are currently emerging everywhere, that is, how to organize Europe, the European continent—within the scope of the community, the states that comprise the community, or the states that are engaged in free commercial exchanges, the Six, for example, or the Seven, that has turned out to be partially in the East, the so-called East which is, generally, a part of the center at present, and primarily, of course, in a Europe in which the Soviet Union occupies—all of this is provided for within the scope of the agreements we have signed. I shall not give you any specific economic computation—this is the field of activity of parliament—until parliament has examined it. I shall not give you any economic realities, but I shall at least permit myself to say the following: it contains a provision for regularity of consultations, for meetings, and not only at ministerial levels, but also at expert level.

I would thereby like to say that it is essential to begin, to consider that Europe in its current form is not represented by any bloc, or any blocs, and that it is a place where countries meet on common themes, scientific and technological, ecological, economic, and in the final analysis on political themes. It suffices to undertake reasonable efforts to achieve unity of standpoints. This is what I wanted to say on this matter, on a confederation. A confederation means that there is a common power distributed among a number of partners, partners linked by a single, central point.

And, of course, the center must be much stronger than federations, although not as strong as in a centralized state. But these links should exist so that Europe can evolve from the East to the West, and from the North to the South. Esteemed gentlemen, let Italy find its place within the (?accord).

[Correspondent] A question for President Mitterrand and President Gorbachev. What, in your view, is the specific role of the so-called Arab factor, and what is your position on the idea of an international conference on the Near East? Thank you.

[Mitterrand] My position is universally known, because I have put it forward. I put this idea forward even from the UN rostrum not so long ago, incidentally, in late September. Italian journalists know everything in the world. Would you like me to repeat what you know already?

[Correspondent] I simply want to know whether or not you and Mr. Gorbachev have taken any concrete action to advance along the path of this conference?

[Mitterrand] When we spoke we acted precisely in this direction. Do not forget that I personally, I personally proposed an international conference as a general process. I did not want anything artificial. It is wrong to try to unite those who do not want to unite. And then, even if we manage to unite them, one should have a basis for agreement, whereas there is no such basis for the time being. One should have a serious attitude. I spoke a very long time ago—about eight years ago—about an international conference on specific subjects of Israeli-Arab relations. This is not the same, even if outwardly this looks the same. I would like to reiterate that I see conferences of this kind as very useful.

[Gorbachev] We have to foresee that any search for political solutions is accompanied by an anlysis of the situation, consideration of interests, definite assessments, and this also includes a repetition of the descriptions and of the assessment that has been made of the actions of Iraq, but at the same time, evidently, this is a process that is considerably broader. It encompasses many problems in this very complex package. It would be best and more realistic if this is dealt with now, and if it took place within the framework of an inter-Arabic conference, some kind of international, inter-Arabic format, some kind of Arabic mechanism, for agreement may be reached more quickly. After all, ultimately, all this is happening on Arab soil. And, in particular, the noncoincidence of interests, and sometimes, even some kind of emotional things must be left aside. The need to settle this acute conflict, that may have most serious consequences both for the Arabs and the whole world, must be placed above all else. It seems that the arab-...[changes thought] the Iraqi leadership, may agree to this sooner.

I think individual countries could play quite a serious role here. Why is it that among them there immediately occurrs to me—not because I was already thinking about this in detail—Saudi Arabia, next door here [as heard], has definite relations existing with Iraq, and could take on some kind of initiative.

After all there are inter-Arab mechanisms. They must now be set into motion. In this respect I think—and I spoke about this before—and I am now convinced on the basis of the analysis and the information I have that currently there are even more arguments for using the Arab factor to resolve this situation.

[Mitterrand] I fully agree. I was just talking about this in my first address to the press in the beginning of August. I think that any ray of light in our standpoints, which, perhaps, do not always coincide, a ray of light in the standpoints of two permanent countries, two countries that are permanent members of the Security Council, could be useful, and this joint analysis could certainly be useful in the course of future discussions. We proceed from the premise that the principles that were established cannot be changed, and that as our prime duty, we have to observe unity on the basis of these principles. And this means that we intend to continue the embargo for as long as is necessary. But this, nevertheless, does not mean that we would not prefer peace, that peace should not be asserted, and we do not intend to spare any efforts in order for peace to triumph here, for there to be a peaceful solution. But here we have to bear right in mind, peace on the basis of right, and we have an interest in all states and diplomatic services forcing international law to be respected on the foundation of peaceful paths.

[Correspondent] I am from the television service of the Novosti Information Agency: I would like, Mikhail Sergeyevich, to take us rather more into domestic politics. Certain circles....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Perhaps you should ask me your question in the Soviet Union.

[Correspondent] True, but my question does refer nonetheless to your international activities. The point is that certain publications of the mass media in the West raised the subject, a speculative subject, of how the foreign visits by the president of the Soviet Union are allegedly unpopular, of how today, at a difficult and destructive time in which there is a mass of tectonic shifts, problems etc, the president goes off on trips, so to speak, is this within his competence? That is the first thing and in connection with this, to develop the question, what is your timetable up to the end of this year?

[Gorbachev] No doubt, that is right. [laughter] Well, I shall have to answer. I am aware of the views of the individual representatives of the Soviet Union, of the political circles of the Soviet Union, shall we say, of whom you were speaking. I believe this really is speculation. It reflects the political struggle and political processes that are currently taking place in our country. Nonetheless I think that among the people, our own and the world community, due credit is given to what has already been done in recent years, within the framework of implementing our drive for perestroyka and the new thinking, toward improving international relations. We all need this. If we say that we need to solve problems in the Soviet Union and that these are very difficult problems, and if we say that to a considerable extent this is related to the economy, I have to say that to turn the economy toward the individual a great deal needs to be changed, not only in domestic policy but in foreign policy as well.

[Mitterrand] I think that such words enable us to finish on a peaceable note.

[Gorbachev] Please I will finish right away. This is an important issue. So, a great deal needs to be changed in internal and foreign affairs and I think that if we can now say that we really have arrived at profound processes of disarmament and are now talking not about confrontation and opposition but of partnership, cooperation, and friendship, of trust, this permits us in internal affairs to arrive at a new understanding of military doctrines, the structure and role of the armed forces, and the role of the military sector of the economy. This is a general, highly interdependent complex of problems. And from this point of view, everything we are doing enables us to be confident from the point of view of greater security for the country and for all peoples. This is a common good without which it is hard for a person to think of making plans for the future.

What was the main question—you Soviet journalists, and the same in the West for that matter, and the journalists will confirm it—until recently? Will there be war? And what everyone worried about was only that there should not be a war, and we will solve all the rest, we will manage, and so on. Now look, today this threat has been removed, and huge possibilities have opened up for individual countries, and for international cooperation. This is a great benefit.

We are returning, our country is organically returning to the whole of our modern civilization, cooperating with all peoples. For that reason I am convinced that we are following the line that is in the fundamental interests, the most important interests of our people, and of the people of other countries. And on this matter any speculations, wherever they may come from, have no importance for me. I stand firmly on the positions I have always adopted, and no one will be able to remove me from those positions.

[Correspondent] I would like to know whether you spoke of the situation in Lebanon. If so, how do you, Mr. Gorbachev, think of acting to help this country? This question is addressed to both presidents.

[Mitterrand] The text that was adopted by the foreign ministers, and that we naturally signed, also speaks of Lebanon. This is to remind everyone that that country, too, has the right to independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. In its turn this means that, insofar as there exist agreements signed in al-Ta'if, it is essential that these are fully and not just unilaterally implemented.

They envisage the withdrawal of foreign troops that are currently deployed in Lebanon within a clearly defined

period. We, or at any rate the French, are taking steps to ensure that the Lebanese become masters of their destiny.

[Gorbachev] The ministers of foreign affairs of France and the Soviet Union have discussed this problem extensively, and President Mitterrand has told you the essence of this. We have here many approaches in common. The president and I dealt with the subject in the context of our discussion of the problem of the Persian Gulf and the whole situation in the Near East. For the Persian Gulf is giving us yet another signal of the fact that we can no longer leave the situation in the Near East in the state such as has existed for many years. That is why there is a connection here, this is why we need forums that would solve first and foremost, of course, and perhaps without strict linkage, the problem of the restoration of the situation in Kuwait before 2 August, so that international law that that was violated by the aggressor, Iraq, should be restored. But at the same time there is a situation that these events remind us of, that there will always be outbreaks of some dangerous incident or other, and all the time we, the world community, are under the threat of being drawn into this unforeseeable fire if we do not tackle the situation in the Near East. There are no convincing arguments, and certainly not now, to go on putting this off. And in this connection we dealt with...[changes thought] mentioning that the Palestinian problem, and the Arab lands, and Lebanon are awaiting a solution, just as we believe that in this context Israel and the people of Israel should have reliable guarantees for them to be able to build their plans for the future with certainty.

[Mitterrand] Well, ladies and gentlemen, I believe that you all understand the...[changes thought] we are ending our news conference. To conclude I would like to restrict myself to addressing, first of all, to Mr. Gorbachev, thanking him for his assistance, for the role that he is playing in the international community, and I would like to say to him that I note with joy that the standpoints of our two countries, especially in this very complex area, coincide. We shall continue to defend the same aspirations, and the same principles, within the scope of the Security Council.

Gorbachev Interviewed on Departure

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[Interview with President Mikhail Gorbachev by reporter Igor Fesunenko at Orly Airport in Paris on 29 October; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Fesunenko] The visit has been completed. The presidential entourage has arrived at Orly Airport. Prior to his departure, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev gave an interview to Vremya.

In Spain and in France you and your staffers, the leaders of our state, and other leading comrades signed a whole range of documents which, in the view of many journalists who covered your visit, should work for perestroyka, and work well, if they are implemented. The question arises as to how one ensures that, as was frequently the case in the past, these very good ideas and initiatives do not get bogged down in our bureaucratic swamp and are not somehow crushed by babbling to the effect that we are selling the USSR to the West, to the bourgeoisie, and so on. You know these are our constant misfortunes which concern all of us.

[Gorbachev] Of course, I know all our misfortunes and all our specific features. Nevertheless, I would say that, in the first place, there is a perception in society that we have to say goodbye to meetings and euphoria and get down to real politics, to real, thorough work....

[Fesunenko, interrupting] ...get down to work....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] ...and really get down to work and to show restraint. In connection with the fact that in the foreground is the stabilization of the economy, the stabilization of the market, the modernization of the economy so that it can be more speedily opened to people, then I think that these are concerns first and foremost. What can be said here? No one else will do it for us, for this enormous country. Cooperation is no obstacle, especially in those areas where things are so tight, they have to be opened up. I regard these to be the market and the modernization of our light and food industries. Apart from this, there are big plans here already for the medium and long term. These include transportation, the fuel industry, and other very important industrial sectors. This is important.

Second, of course you are right that in the transition stage it is very important that, as we deal with internal matters, we should make effective use of these contacts and get a bigger return. In this connection, I think that the fact that we have reached the stage of setting up a foreign currency committee consisting of the chairmen of the governments of the republics, led by the head of the Union government, and the fact that we are charging it with conducting all matters connected with foreign currency—that is, its effective use—I think this will remove many questions and concerns and will clarify matters for our own and foreign investors. They do not want to just run around the country looking for someone to establish contact with. They should have a support point and, by referring to and consulting with these principled positions of the center, be able to act together with the republics, enterprises, and industrial sectors.

[Fesunenko] They are actually afraid of our bureaucracy at present, since good decisions get bogged down in the middle tier of departments and so on. In general, are you satisfied with the results of the visit?

[Gorbachev] You know what we have done so that the investment is more....

[Fesunenko, interrupting] intensified?

[Gorbachev] Yes, the better used. These are the two decrees on foreign investment which I have signed. They

are already creating different conditions. This, I think, will be well received by the Western business world and duly appreciated. The ruble is changing. I think we will move toward convertibility for the ruble. Then the process will definitely move faster.

[Fesunenko] Then you are satisfied with the results of the visits to Spain and France?

[Gorbachev] Well, you know, there is always something left unfulfilled, but, on the whole, it was a substantial trip.

[Fesunenko] Any man, especially a state leader, must always be slightly dissatisfied with himself.

[Gorbachev] If you take into consideration that I know what else was resolved during this time, in the course of the visit, then quite a wide spectrum of cooperation, and a realistic one at that, appears. The same is true if you take into consideration what occurred in Rome a few days ago, the day before yesterday, I believe. I was briefed over the phone by Mr. Gonzalez, and today and yesterday I talked to Mr. Mitterrand, who came here to Orly straight from Rome. I know about the situation there and how the questions were discussed. I think that we will have possibilities for better cooperation. Our partners in the West have an understanding, that now is the very moment when it is necessary to take new steps in this direction. I think that the trip was useful both in political and specific economic terms.

[Fesunenko] Thank you.

[Gorbachev] It was a very busy trip.

[Fesunenko] This is true.

[Gorbachev] It was busy.

[Fesunenko] Thank you. [words indistinct] A short farewell ceremony will take place at the gangway. President Francois Mitterrand will wish the Soviet president a good journey. Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas and other officials are also here. Yuriy Dubinin, the ambassador of the USSR to France, is also among those seeing off the president.

Soviet Request for Aid From France Viewed

AU2910204190 Paris AFP in English 2023 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Paris, Oct 29 (AFP)—The Soviet Union has requested a total of 10 billion francs (almost $2 billion) in French financial aid, a French diplomatic source said Monday evening.

The source said that, in addition to the five billion francs in aid already granted to the Soviet Union under a bilateral financial protocol, the Soviet Union could receive an equal additional amount from France, but within a multilateral framework yet to be laid down.

That framework might involve aid from the European Economic Community, or the Group of Seven (leading industrial countries United States, Canada, Japan, Britain, France, Italy, and Germany).

The source said that the financial agreement signed Sunday in connection with a visit here by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev involves a loan guaranteed by the French Government and made on "market terms". A banking consortium will be set up by November 20 to arrange the loan.

The initial aid installment is supposed to refinance Soviet arrears in payments to French business (around 1.5 billion francs) and to finance Soviet purchases of French foodstuffs, steel and chemicals.

Separately, a Soviet source said on Monday that the compensation the Soviet Union is to offer French holders of Czarist bonds, the principle of which was announced during Mr. Gorbachev's brief visit here, is likely to be only partial, along the lines of what was done in Britain after the 1986 Anglo-Soviet agreement.

The "real value" of such bonds is enormous, and Franco-Soviet talks are in progress on just how much compensation should be paid and how, the source said.

In 1918, Frenchmen held Czarist bonds worth the equivalent of around $40 billion in terms of today's dollars. Around $28 billion worth are thought to be still held.

The Soviet Union could not possibly pay such a sum, and the solution will probably be to use only the face value indicated on the bonds, 500 francs each, neglecting the point that 500 francs at that time would be equivalent to 10,000 francs (almost $2,000) now.

Actually, the payment will probably be reduced further by paying each bond holder only part of the face value.

France Debates Future of Nuclear Triad

91WC0012A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[Article by Vladimir Bolshakov: "What Awaits the 'Triad'?"]

[Text] Paris—French President F. Mitterrand, through his prime minister, M. Rocard, instructed Minister of Defense Jean-Pierre Chevenement to prepare a final proposal for the French Defense Council by the end of this year "with the aim of guaranteeing the future of the French nuclear deterrent forces and maintaining their reliability on the eve of the next century."

New debates have recently started up again in the French Ministry of Defense and parliament with respect to the future of the French nuclear "triad."

France has consistently refused to cut its nuclear forces as long as all the other nuclear powers, first and foremost the USSR and the United States, do not reduce their own

nuclear forces to a level equal with that of the French. It is not accidental that the five-year program of modernization of the armed forces, which was adopted back under the rightist government of J. Chirac, was handed over as if in a relay race to the government of socialists that succeeded it.

The debates that have arisen regarding the future of these forces are associated not only with the traditional fall discussion of the state budget for the next fiscal year but also with the development of the international situation. The French military cannot help but admit the obvious, that the NATO classification of the Soviet Union as a "potential enemy" has become obsolete. Especially now when there is talk of French and USSR harmony and cooperation and the more active participation of our country in the process of European integration, not to mention the actual dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. Taking into account the progress in the negotiations on the reduction of USSR and U.S. nuclear forces, and the progress at the Vienna talks in connection with the unification of Germany, President F. Mitterrand has already issued instructions on the need to cut France's military budget in the near future by four to five billion francs.

It should be noted, however, that these reductions did not envisage lowering expenditures on France's nuclear forces. When LES ECHOS, a newspaper for business circles, reported the other day: "France plans to cut its nuclear forces," this served as a signal to many that a decision was made at the very top about a review of the structure of the French nuclear "triad," or the elimination of one of its parts.

The development of events in the Persian Gulf area would seem to speak in support of such a version. The newspaper LES ECHOS openly raised the question about a review of the structure of the nuclear "triad" and the need to develop an adequate answer to the "new threats on the part of the south," for example Iraq, not even excluding the employment of the neutron bomb. Thus, does the question in these debates concern a future French strategic concept of a new potential enemy or a repudiation of previous enemies?

From the instructions issued by the president to the minister of defense, only one thing is now clear—the president as the supreme commander of all of the Armed Forces of France does not foresee the elimination of national nuclear forces.

Turkish President Views Effects of Gulf Events

PM2910211990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Oct 90 Union Edition p 5

[Interview with Turkish President Turgut Ozal by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Khovratovich; place and date not given: "Turkey: Problems and Solutions. A Conversation With President Turgut Ozal"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Istanbul-Moscow—The crisis in the Gulf has done particularly major material damage to Turkey. The country's total loss over the year could reach $7 billion. Our correspondent began his conversation with Turkish President Turgut Ozal with a discussion of the Gulf situation.

[Ozal] The events in the region, of course, have created problems for the whole world. And the most unpleasant aspect is that this has all happened against the backdrop of considerable improvements and major radical changes in East-West relations. Turkey, just like Europe and America, welcomed your reforms. A new world was in the making. And at the very moment when the improvement in people's lives and the move toward peace and prosperity in the world had become obvious, at the very time when the possibility of really helping Third World countries had emerged, all our attention and effort was suddenly diverted by the Gulf.

Of course, it is a very oil-rich region. It is a kind of artery for many countries. Their prosperity is bound up to a certain extent with stability in the region. Turkey, too, found itself in a very complex position: as an Islamic country, a Western state, a NATO member, and a neighbor of Iraq—after all, two important Iraqi oil pipelines run through Turkey. We are incurring major economic losses from the embargo.

We used the oil pipeline even during the most dangerous points of the Iran-Iraq War. But now Turkey has been forced to shut down the oil pipelines in keeping with the UN resolutions. On the other hand, we conducted intensive trade with Iraq, but we have been deprived of this, too, ever since the Kuwait invasion. Since Kuwait has been occupied we have lost that partner too. Naturally, the war has had a negative impact on tourism.

Of course, Turkey—like the whole world—is demanding that this problem be resolved as quickly as possible. How? Clear observance of the embargo will be quite a protracted way of achieving this. But constant economic and political pressure on Iraq could ultimately force it to leave Kuwait and submit to the UN resolutions. I think that this test could last another two or three months.

But it may also be the case that the embargo fails to work. In that case military intervention will be inevitable. Nonetheless, I believe that the conflict could be resolved in the very near future without bloodshed.

Naturally, I cannot set a specific timetable—that is, I do not plan to state how long the embargo will operate or how long Iraq will hold out. Pressure on Iraq is needed from the Western countries, the Soviet Union, and the entire international community.

[Khovratovich] Mr. President, you recently talked on the telephone with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. Could you give our readers a few details of that conversation?

[Ozal] We talked about a possible future meeting between us in Moscow. I proposed for the meeting mainly questions

relating to Iraq. That is, the Kuwait-Iraq problem, the Gulf problem. In this connection we briefly discussed their impact on our bilateral ties as well.

There are also questions in the sphere of economic cooperation in the Black Sea, on which we are currently working. We briefly discussed this problem, too. Our proposal is to make the regime governing this cooperation freer. Clearly, in the very near future we will have to hold a session on this problem with the participation of top-level specialists from interested countries. If our visit to the Soviet Union next year takes place, it may be possible to discuss all the details more thoroughly. We did not discuss a specific date for the visit, but agreed over the phone that we might meet in the first three months of 1991.

[Khovratovich] Mr. President, some time ago you put forward a program for cooperation among the countries of the Black Sea. What is the gist of it?

[Ozal] It seems to me that this program could help the reforms in East Europe. For instance, it may be possible to establish a freer international regime in the region. The countries of the region—I have in mind Turkey, five or six of your republics, plus Bulgaria and Romania, and perhaps some other country may want to join—should achieve freedom of movement, that is, they should simplify the procedure for obtaining visas and perhaps abolish visas altogether. I believe that many people in both Turkey and the Soviet Union would be happy to make use of this.

Maritime and air traffic could be substantially simplified and customs controls relaxed. Movements of goods could be made easier too.

[Khovratovich] Mr. President, it is no secret that the Soviet Union is currently experiencing a profound economic crisis. It is well known that Turkey went through something similar 10 years ago, but successfully solved many problems. Are there any recipes for this economic revival?

[Ozal] Indeed, we were roughly in your position about 10 years ago. Admittedly, we have difference economic systems, and there has always been a private sector in Turkey. But 10 years ago it was quite weak, and we paid the closest attention to it, took Western experience into account, and made it the leading sector of the economy.

Forgive me, but it seems to me that you are spending too long discussing the problem and cannot bring yourselves to take action. A great deal of time has been wasted. Yet I believe that it will come right in the end and that both your plans and our common plans will be successfully implemented.

Latin America & Caribbean

Shenin Leads CPSU Delegation's Cuba Tour

Delegation Arrives 28 Oct

LD2910131990 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Havana October 29 TASS—A Soviet Communist Party Central Committee delegation, led by Oleg Shenin, Politburo member and secretary of the party's Central Committee, arrived in Cuba on Sunday [28 October] at the invitation of the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party leadership.

"The delegation members are to tell the Cuban comrades about the processes taking place in the Soviet Union after the party's 28th congress and the October plenary meeting," Shenin told TASS.

"Cuban comrades take interest in problems connected with economic reforms being effected in the Soviet Union. For our part, we would like to learn more about the state of affairs in Cuba and the life of Cuban communists," Shenin said.

Meets With Fidel Castro

LD3010101890 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 30 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Havana October 30 TASS—Cuban leader Fidel Castro met a visiting Soviet Communist Party Central Committee delegation here on Monday and had a frank and open exchange of views. The delegation is led by Oleg Shenin, Politburo member and secretary of the Party's Central Committee.

Various aspects of relations between the two parties and countries in the light of Soviet perestroyka and Cuba's rectification process were discussed during the prolonged meeting.

Castro reaffirmed the determination of his country and people to adhere firmly to the policy of "new priorities" associated with the "special period" through which the republic is living through.

Shenin informed the Cuban leader in detail of the state of affairs in the Soviet Union and of the difficulties being encountered by reforms in the USSR. Local councils in a number of cases are not prepared to take upon themselves the responsibility of power, Shenin said.

On the same day the delegation met Jose Ramon Machado Ventura, Politburo member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, and Carlos Aldana Escalante, member of the secretariat of the Party's Central Committee.

Cuban Envoy Criticizes Article Defaming Fidel

PM3010092590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Cuban Ambassador Jose Ramon Balaguer Cabrera: "Lies and Defamation. Cuban Ambassador's Protest"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the PRAVDA Editorial Office has received a visit from the Cuban ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR. He asked for the following to be published:

During more than 30 years of building socialism remarkable relations of friendship and cooperation have emerged between Cuba and the Soviet Union. Along with other factors, Soviet journalists—who now have an opportunity for more vigorous and objective activity—have made their contribution to strengthening those relations.

It is therefore all the more regrettable that the Soviet press has been publishing articles distorting the essence of Cuban-Soviet relations and cooperation and deforming the picture of reality. Their authors even interfere in our internal affairs, and this coincides with attacks on Cuba and Cuban-Soviet relations from the most reactionary Western press.

Such manifestations are being promoted by the tendency on the part of certain Soviet publications to ape the West.

The style of the U.S. press, from which we can glean no positive qualities, is making headway. But, regrettably, certain journalistic circles imitate the very worst examples. Americans dub the sensation-seeking press the "yellow press."

Clearly, certain KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA journalists are engaged in turning their newspaper into a "yellow" publication.

One such journalist is A. Novikov, who, as the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent in Havana, set about until recently distorting not only our reality but also the nature of our friendly relations with the USSR. He thereby demonstrated a lack of respect for the Cuban people, who had accorded him the hospitality we always show to our Soviet comrades.

Therefore, there is nothing strange in the fact that Novikov's presence among us became undesirable, and now that he has finished working in our country there is not the slightest desire that he return.

The good tradition of the Soviet press lies in the objectivity and honesty of its true representatives and in their respect and ability to distinguish what merits respect from what does not. Regardless of his titles, Fidel Castro merits respect even from his opponents as a man of principle who is true to his ideals and has shown his resolve to give his life for them.

Unfortunately, A. Novikov is more interested in defamation than in the truth. This is typical of his article under the unlikely headline for the Soviet press of "From the Personal Life of Fidel," the facts for which were drawn by the author from Western "yellow" magazines. In it he insults Soviet readers and the Cuban people.

But it is not enough for him to defame Fidel Castro. He extends his slander to Raul Castro. He does not draw any attention to his personal qualities, but reproduces the malicious international articles against Raul and launches into an out-and-out attack on him.

It should be noted that in a number of countries the author would be answerable to the law for such articles. Soviet legislation on the press does not encourage disinformation.

Anyone who has visited with Fidel Castro in Cuba or who has seen him on television knows that he lives in close contact with the people, that he meets with ordinary working-class people, the intelligentsia, and the peasantry, and discusses various issues with them. But A. Novikov tells us that Fidel's personal bodyguard comprises 9,700 people, that he travels with a "retinue of 57 generals," and that when he visits a province "all internal troop subunits are involved in guarding him." Thus, "the security of a single person is safeguarded by up to 28,000 men simultaneously." What a lie!

Many heads of state and many guests have accompanied Fidel on scuba fishing trips in our country. But here is how A. Novikov describes it: When Fidel is on a scuba fishing trip "all naval forces" in the area are on "heightened combat alert, and 122 divers from special units comb the sea bed inch by inch." Novikov thus discredits those who have been witness to and participants in ordinary sporting fishing trips with Fidel. Without guard ships, without reconnaissance divers, but merely surrounded by four of five comrades and his guests.

That is the kind of disdain for the truth shown by Novikov. It reflects the hatred felt by that defiler of the Cuban revolution for a steadfast defender of socialism.

Permit me to use the pages of PRAVDA not to rebut these claims—since the situation does not merit it—but to register my protest as a Cuban and bring it to the attention of readers of the serious Soviet press.

Socialism, Cuba Viewed on New Radio Program

PY2710150690 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0200 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Feature with editor (Valentina Ioschena) and commentator Leonid Levchenko: "In Direct Contact" ("En Contacto Directo")]

[Text] [(Ioschena)] Good evening, friends.

[Levchenko] I am very glad to greet you.

[(Ioschana)] I would first like to explain how this program was created. The international section of Radio

Moscow receives many letters from its listeners with opinions on various problems. This is very good. Radio Moscow journalists deeply respect the viewpoints of all listeners. Sometimes, however, we would like to engage in a debate with the listeners to outline our own criteria on a subject and outline a major problem as we see it.

This has given rise to the idea of organizing a permanent dialogue with our listeners through this program, which we have christened "In Direct Contact."

The program will be directed by me and by commentator Leonid Levchenko.

The first letter that we chose was sent by Jose Rey Mayo, from La Coruna, Spain.

[Levchenko] I see you have the letter in hand. I would like to know what it says.

[(Ioschana)] Look, Leonid, Jose Rey mentions many subjects. In addition to the ongoing changes in the USSR, Jose Rey is interested in more general problems. He writes: Does the USSR continue to support Cuba? What will happen with socialism? Was socialism so bad that previously socialist countries had to abandon it with their deficient economies and with their debts? The Cuban Government, however, has said "Socialism or Death" because Cubans know what socialism has given them. The USSR also knows that after beginning from scratch it became a great nation with a great and promising future. The Czechoslovaks, Germans, and Hungarians, however, have abandoned socialism. Socialism is not very strong in Bulgaria. Jose Rey wonders: How long will this continue?

We, he goes on, do know the results of capitalism. Such results are corruption, (?idleness), crime, drugs, prostitution, robbery, bribery, appropriation of people's assets, lies, deception, and lack of freedom and democracy.

As for the free enterprise system, it foments the exploitation of man by man, backwardness, the accumulation of capital, and even the appearance of (?good) capitalists. I could mention many other evils, but I wonder whether a new mentality is necessary to realize all this.

What are your comments on the subject, Leonid?

[Levchenko] Well, there are actually many subjects, and it is difficult to clarify all of them with just a few words.

Mr. Jose Rey has rightly said that our idea of socialism has undergone remarkable changes. One should (?at least) consider that there are models and forms of socialism. (?Beyond all doubt), there have been various reactions—in Europe and in the USSR—to the changes that have recently occurred in East Europe. There have been all types of attitudes, ranging from total approval to incomprehension and panic. Some people speak about the [words indistinct] of socialism, claiming that there was no development during the entire postwar period.

Let us see whether this is true. The changes in the socialist countries of East Europe [words indistinct]. Even though they are very different countries, each one of them with its specific conditions, the main reason for the changes is the failure of the interventionist model of socialism.

Practically nowhere in the USSR or in other socialist states has it been possible to reach the economic boom and the living standards achieved by developed countries.

All this—the crisis of society, of the economy, and of social values—has been inevitable. Now, are we at a impasse? We believe that the solution to this situation is the transition to the market economy and to democracy. Yet these processes have been hindered by a simplistic conception of socialism, which considers that the adoption of a market economy and the merchandise-money relation entail a return to capitalism. From the viewpoint of this simplistic conception, the democratization process has been regarded merely as the adoption of the world's democratic system.

Actually, there has been no return to anything, but rather a step forward that will give new meaning and new expression to socialism. It is a step forward that takes us closer to world civilization and to the new universal values of unity.

The first step has been the recognition that various development models exist. The relations between the USSR and East European countries have changed independently from the social changes in those countries.

These relations have been cleared of ideological dogmatism. The world is very interested in the successful democratic transformation that has begun in the USSR and in East European countries.

[(Ioschena)] Well, Leonid, I believe you have not yet said anything about Soviet aid to Cuba, and this is Jose Rey's first question.

[Levchenko] Well, yes, I mean.... [changes thought] I wanted to begin with a general view and then address specific facts.

[(Ioschena)] Ah, that is different!

[Levchenko] Well, the first thing to be said is that Moscow does not tell Havana what to do. We insist that the Cuban course toward social development be chosen only by Cuba. For example, I agree with Fidel Castro that the revolution and the subsequent social transformations were not exported to Cuba; they were born on the island. Cubans, although always sincerely grateful to the Soviet people for their support, have considered our economic relations not aid but rather equitable cooperation.

Obviously, our relations with Cuba have had some problems. The difficulties that the Soviet economy has had to confront have caused some reduction of the supply of oil and various other goods to Cuba. On the other hand, the USSR has not received a sufficient

supply of sugar and (?fruit) from Cuba. [Words indistinct] will be necessary to introduce far-reaching changes in the entire system of bilateral economic relations.

Both Moscow and Havana are willing to seek out new mutually beneficial ways of equitable cooperation.

I believe that the friendship and cooperation treaty that Cuba and the USSR signed last year is a major step that will strengthen Soviet-Cuban relations and will put them at a new level from a qualitative viewpoint, in keeping with the mutual interests of both sides.

[(Ioschena)] Thank you, Leonid. I believe that Mr. Jose Rey has recieved a comprehensive answer to his questions. Goodbye, friends.

[Levchenko] Well, the "In Direct Contact" program will await your letters.

Cuban Poll on Freedom, Castro, U.S. Aims Cited

PM2610090590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent A. Moiseyev under the rubric: "Abroad": "Are Cubans Content?"]

[Text] Havana, 23 Oct—The publication of a public opinion poll in Cuba cannot be described as an everyday matter. The publication in the latest issue of MILITANTE COMUNISTA, the magazine of the republic Communist Party Secretariat, therefore attracts special attention.

Are Cubans content with their lives? How do they regard their democracy? What do they think about Fidel Castro? The National Public Opinion Research Center tried to find answers to these and many other questions. According to the results obtained, 95 percent of respondents consider themselves politically free and are convinced that human rights are respected in the country. Almost 90 percent described leader Fidel Castro as the "most significant individual" in contemporary world politics. Around 90 percent felt sure of their well-being. At the same time, only 60 percent are satisfied with their material position.

And a few more figures. For example, 93 percent of respondents believe in the Cuban revolution while fewer than half believe in world socialism. The possibility of U.S. armed aggression against their country is ruled out by 58 percent of Cubans.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet 29 Oct Proceedings Outlined

LD2910202390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1845 GMT on 29 October carries its scheduled 60-minute "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program, consisting of recorded highlights of the 29 October USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

The program begins with Lev Ryabev, chairman of the Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex, reporting on the power and energy complex in the country. He says it has more resources for next year for household and municipal needs thanks to cuts in exports. He continues: By 1 October, coal stocks were the same as two years ago. This month we have managed to save coal and maintain these stocks. But the Far East is short of coal. Hurricanes stopped work at opencast coal mines. Seventeen million tonnes of mazut have been stockpiled. There are shortages of coking coal for industry with only enough for three days of work at coke batteries. Gas is available and more apartments are to have gas supplied. Ryabev then outlines the effect of bans on commissioning of capacities at various atomic power stations effected by the local authorities.

Progress on maintaining hot water lines is going well in Moscow, Ryabev continues. Maintenance of boilers is not good in some areas. Ninety-seven percent of apartments in the USSR have been prepared for winter. The united power grid is providing big savings but there have been cases of interference in the united power grid. There are laws to deal with such interference.

Ryabev announces that new, flexible electricity rates are being introduced.

Deputy Pivovarov is then shown speaking. He says preparations for winter are poor compared with last year. Farms are not adequately supplied. People are looking to the first winter of the work of the renewed soviets and hope their work will be effective.

The studio announcer then reads a list of those who spoke in the debate. The announcer reports that a bill on the violation of airspace was debated and passed. The Novaya Zemlya blast was then discussed. Professor Mikhaylov said the blast took place on 24 October. We were waiting for U.S. reaction, he said. We had planes to check fallout. No fallout was recorded. Conditions at the test ground immediately after the blast were normal. The ground is soft and the settlement where the testmen were was not affected. Diagnostic readings were taken and are being processed. We are not planning any such tests in the near future.

An unidentified deputy asks if the president and other leaders were informed. Mikhaylov says he is sure the president received the report. An unidentified woman asks if we do not have enough atomic weapons already. Mikhaylov says the question of safety has to be studied. Another deputy asks if local people living nearby were informed. Mikhaylov says all the settlements in Novaya Zemlya were informed. A Kazakh deputy asks about the strength of the blast. Another deputy from Yakutia asks if there is no central organ for these things. A Nenets deputy asks about informing the population about forthcoming blasts.

Lukyanov interjects saying that this issue should be investigated.

Lukyanov then makes various proposals especially regarding the northern lands. This question should be investigated and a draft resolution should be prepared.

The studio announcer then says Laptev spoke about an article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA concerning "Operation Chinese Ham" about violations of regulations at a meat factory.

The announcer concludes the program saying there will be a session of the Supreme Soviet on 30 October.

Energy Official Reports on Winter Fuel Situation

LD2910122790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] This morning the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the country's Supreme Soviet has been discussing measures which are being taken to ensure that preparations for winter are completed. A detailed report was delivered by Lev Dmitriyevich Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the government office responsible for the fuel and energy industries. The deputies were given copies of data released by the State Committee for Statistics, a huge amount of data on the extraction and production of the most important types of fuel, energy resources, reserves of coal and fuel oil, and the timetable for the commissioning of production capacities at all types of power stations. The data includes information about the procurement of firewood and the preparation of housing for winter.

The conclusion drawn is that preparation of the national economy for the fall and winter period has been complicated by the reduction in the extraction and supply of coal and oil, the failure to fulfill plans for the transport of fuel, and the failure to commission a number of power generation installations. In short, as the deputies summarized the situation, there is no fuel, there is no power, there is no firewood. What is to be done? Why is the Supreme Soviet having to examine this question, asked Deputy Romanenko—quite justifiably, in my view. What does it have do with legislators? Is it not a bit late to be waking up to the problem. Russia used to get its sleigh ready in summer.

But apparently there is something for the deputies to ponder in this respect. The member of the government, Ryabev, drew attention to a fundamental problem. The government lacks full powers of administration over oil.

Some 30 percent of extraction has been removed from commercial development. Supplies of gas to Armenia were cut for a lengthy period of time. This is also a political question. The construction and operation of nuclear power stations is another problem. Local soviets are removing [word indistinct] here. They are categorically opposed to nuclear stations but they do not consider all the consequences. And there is a whole series of questions connected with subsidized payment for energy.

So the Supreme Soviet also has something to tackle. Perhaps the Supreme Soviet and the government should decide on the energy strategy, whereas the details of firewood supplies should be sorted out locally. Unfortunately, however, the Council of Ministers of the Union and autonomous republics have not yet restructured their work in accordance with the rights given by the Law on Self-Government.

Nikolay Dmitriyevich Pivovarov, chairman of the Committee on Issues of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies, Development of Government and Self-Government, spoke in detail on the first winter of the renewed soviets. You will be able to hear more detailed information on their tasks in one hour on the next bulletin. The debate going on now is extremely earnest, and the discussion is serious.

I think that today it is time to grow up, get wiser and to drop—to put it in a broader sense—overspending technologies.

Draft laws on penalties for the breach of USSR airspace and on the commission on the procedure of the work of the supreme bodies of state power of the USSR will also be under discussion today.

Deputies Discuss Novaya Zemlya Nuclear Test

LD2910194790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 29 Oct 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Ivan Ivanov, Vladimir Isachenkov, and Andrey Orlov from the Kremlin]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Oct (TASS)—The Soviet legislature today examined the circumstances around the testing of a nuclear explosive device at the Novaya Zemlya test site on 24 October. Protests from deputies and the local population against the test, and the fact that it was held without warning, formed the basis for the examination.

Reporting to the legislature about the circumstances regarding the test, Professor Viktor Mikhaylov, deputy minister of USSR Atomic Energy and Industry, assured deputies that the emission of radioactive products did not take place. The radiation level at a distance of one kilometer from the epicenter of the explosion was practically ambient—from six to 10 micro roentgen per hour, he said. Due to the fact that strong rocks situated in the test site region dampened the explosion, there was no seismic effect at a tester's settlement located within 250 kilometers of the epicenter, not to mention the adjoining sea area.

Viktor Mikhaylov said the explosion would be the only test the USSR will carry out this year.

Numerous claims were voiced in deputies' speeches. It was noted that in a difficult economic situation "it is impermissible to throw billions of rubles to the wind." Astonishment was expressed at why the USSR Government had not notified local authorities about the test.

The speech by Aleksey Yablokov, deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Ecology, was especially sharp. He said that if the explosion had been carried out a week earlier, "Mikhail Gorbachev would not have received the Nobel Peace Prize." In Yablokov's words, the USSR now "will lose the injection of $500 million the northern countries were prepared to give."

It was decided to further study the issue in parliamentary committees for legislation, defense, and ecology, and to prepare a corresponding decision.

Panel Says Troop Movement Incident Still Unclear

PM2910163390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Commission Session"]

[Text] A session of the commission set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee and Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals Committee was held on 25 October. It is examining the statement of People's Deputy S.V. Belozertsev and articles in the newspapers KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and PRAVDA about the relocation of units and subunits of the Airborne Troops during September.

The commissioners spoke of the investigation they have carried out and the facts they have uncovered, and drew the attention of representatives of the mass media to the inaccuracies and the illogical inferences made in the articles.

At the same time the commisioners came to the conclusion that there are still many things that are unclear and many unexamined details. The commission's work will be continued.

Political & Social

Moscow Official: No Comment on Troop Movements

AU2910213790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] The deputy mayor of Moscow, Stankevich, has neither confirmed nor denied the news that around Moscow there are again, we quote, uncontrolled movements of military units.

Even if extraordinary measures of administration [vanredne mere upravljanja] were implemented, the Moscow authorities would not have any way to oppose this, Sergey Stankevich said.

Ryzhkov Talks With Builders on Market Economy

LD2910200190 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—Problems of the development of the Soviet building industry during the transition to a market economy were in the focus of discussion [between] Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov held in the Kremlin today with a group of builders, delegates to the 19th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions.

During the candid exchange of views, both sides noted with apprehension the complex situation in the building industry. The prestige of the building trade has plummeted lately, with nearly 350,000 workers leaving the industry. The average age of builders that used to be not higher than 20 to 25 years, is now nearing 40 to 50 at some major construction sites.

Among the causes of the slump, participants pointed to the low level of mechanisation and production of building materials, inadequate working conditions and low pay, housing and other shortages.

Workers voiced concern that unless urgent measures are taken builders will be least of all prepared for work under market conditions.

They noted that the lion's share of responsibility for the situation in the building industry should be taken by Union republics which were entrusted with administering the industry two years ago. Unfortunately, proper responsibility was not shown everywhere and as a result the building complex is poorly managed. Coordination within the industry on the national scale leaves much to be desired.

Summing up the results of the dicussion, the prime minister said that the government would take necessary measures to restore order in the building industry.

Workers who participated in the meeting expressed support for the government and its policy of transition to the market.

New Law Penalizes Interference With Transport

PM2910163190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

["USSR Law on Criminal Liability for Blocking Transport Communications and Other Unlawful Acts Encroaching on the Normal and Safe Operation of Transportation"—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA headline]

[Text] USSR Law on Criminal Liability for Blocking Transport Communications and Other Unlawful Acts Encroaching on the Normal and Safe Operation of Transportation.

Guided by the declaration of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies dated 24 December 1989 "On the Unadmissibility of Blocking Highways and Railroads and of Creating any Obstacles to the Free Movement of Citizens and Freight Within the USSR," the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

Article 1. That the deliberate blocking of transport communications by constructing obstacles, installing manned barriers, or by any other method which entailed or might have entailed a violation of the normal work of the railroad and air, water, automobile, or trunk pipeline transportation—

is punishable by a fine of up to 1,000 rubles [R]) or up to two years' corrective labor or the same period of imprisonment.

That these same acts combined with a threat to the life or health of people or if they are repeat offenses or offenses committed by a group of people in collusion, or if they are acts involving the illegal examination of freight and luggage, or the checking of documents—

are punishable by between one and two years' corrective labor or up to four years' imprisonment.

That acts stipulated in parts one and two of this article which have entailed accidents involving people or other serious consequences—

are punishable by between five and 15 years' imprisonment.

Article 2. That forcing a worker from the railroad, air, water, automobile or trunk pipeline transportation not to fulfill his official duties by threats of death or serious injury, or the destruction of property with respect to this worker or his close relative, and if there are grounds for believing that this threat will be carried out—

is punishable by a fine of up to R500 or up to one year's corrective labor or the same period of imprisonment.

That these acts, if they are repeat offenses or if they are committed by a group of people in collusion—

are punishable by two years' corrective labor or five years' imprisonment.

Article 3. That hijacking or seizure of railroad rolling stock, and air, sea, or river vessels, as well as the seizure of a station, airport, or a port, or any other transportation enterprise, institution, or organization as well as seizure of goods not for the purpose of theft—

is punishable by up to eight years' imprisonment.

That these same acts, if they are committed by a group of people in collusion, and involve the use of coercion or

threats or if they result in an accident or breakdown involving a means of transportation indicated in part one of this article, or other serious consequences—

are punishable by between three and 10 years' imprisonment with or without confiscation of property.

That acts stipulated by parts one and two of this article involving the death or serious injury of one or more persons—

are punishable by between five and 15 years' imprisonment with confiscation of property.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev.
Moscow Kremlin 23 October 1990.

Kalugin Describes Gorbachev Loyalty to Kryuchkov

LD2910104490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Interview with Oleg Davydovich Kalugin by unidentified correspondent, date and place not given—recorded; from the 26 October "Vzglyad" (View) segment of the "VID" ("View and Others") program]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Oleg Davydovich, your model article was to have been in the magazine OGONEK. Why didn't this happen?

[Kalugin] My article was handed over for type-setting. That was last February. Publication was then stopped. According to the information I have, one of the Politburo members telephoned Korotich and suggested very insistently that the article be removed from the edition.

[Correspondent] You were in America in 1959 with Yakovlev, one of the former members of the Politburo and now a member of the Presidential Council. Are you still friends?

[Kalugin] Indeed, we studied together in the United States at Columbia University. Since then we have maintained very occasional contact because I was in America until 1970.

[Correspondent] Do you now keep up any contact?

[Kalugin] Personally, I have telephoned him a couple of times, but we have not met for a long time. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Oleg Davydovich, the next sitting of the case will not take place until 11 November. Why this long break?

[Kalugin] I have gained the impression that our juridical bodies, in particular the Moscow City Court, are dragging things out. I have the impression that the court is waiting for additional instructions about how to tackle this issue.

[Correspondent] Why do you think Mikhail Sergeyevich is so loyal to the ambitions of Kryuchkov and the committee in general?

[Kalugin] I think that the president is simply dependent upon the Committee for State Security now. I also think that his relations with Kryuchkov are of a personal nature. Everyone knows that Gorbachev is quite close in his views to Andropov, at least at the stage when they were acquaintances. Kryuchkov was always part of this circle. He was Andropov's assistant for many years, and a typical product of the party apparatus who has been able and evidently continues to be able to adapt, including to perestroyka, and evidently Gorbachev likes him at present.

[Correspondent] I remember reading somewhere what you said about General Tolkunov, a veteran of the Committee for State Security.

[Kalugin] Yes, this amazing story is indicative of the morals of our time. A person who was a chairman of the Committee [for State Security], or more precisely, head of the KGB directorate for Stavropol Kray many years ago, during those years when Gorbachev was first secretary of the kray committee—he is still in the KGB, a head of the KGB inspectorate, a lieutenant general, he is already 75 years old, I think.

[Correspondent] (?They retired you at 55.)

[Kalugin] Yes, well, that is not particularly important. In this case it is simply an indication of the fact that this person is somehow valuable for Kryuchkov and the president. Perhaps he is simply necessary in this position.

[Correspondent] You once mentioned that the president, as it were, shared your prestige.

[Kalugin] Well, I did not say this to offend the president, but it turned out that due to his decree—an illegal one, also, incidentally—I acquired popularity in our country which perhaps does not comply with my modest position in our society. Well, my thanks to the president. In this case he acted very nobly.

People's Deputy on Political Prisoners' Fate

LD3010100790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0500 GMT on 30 October broadcasts a five-minute interview with Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) People's Deputy Sergey Adamovich Kovalev by correspondent Vladimir Korablev on the occasion of Political Prisoner's Day, which is being officially marked for the first time in the USSR. Kovalev, who spent some ten years as a political prisoner, says the day was instituted by political prisoners in the Mordovian camps in 1974.

Today 18 political prisoners remain in the last political zone; the 35th Zone in Perm Oblast not far from the

town of Chusovoy, he adds. In mid-August 1990 the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Human Rights toured prisons, including the 35th Zone, speaking with each of the twenty prisoners there—now two have been set free. The cases were very different but all of them are due to be reviewed and the Committee is vigorously trying to get them reviewed. The Committee also visited Chistopol where Mikhail Kazakhkov still remains a prisoner. It has been possible for the committee to have three and a half years of his 18 1/2-year sentence remitted, Kovalev discloses. Kazakhov was convicted on the basis of Article 64 regarding treason of the homeland. He was charged with espionage. According to the profound conviction of Kovalev and the conviction of many lawyers who studied this case, thes charge was not proved. His conviction can be regarded as a typical political repression. He is to be released very soon as the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has taken a decision to pardon him. Perhaps today these documents have at last been received by the prison and he has already been set free, Kovalev concludes.

Economic

Gasoline Imports From West Indicate 'Crisis'

LD2910162390 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] The newspaper KOMMERSANT has reported that the Soviet Union has purchased gasoline abroad for the first time in the past 45 years. About 500,000 tonnes, worth some $200 million, was bought in the countries of Western Europe. Experts say this shows that there is a growing crisis in the Soviet oil-mining industry. It is believed that output will be from 37 to 40 million tonnes less than last year.

Gulf Crisis Impact on Economy Examined

PM2610174490 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 42, 16-22 Oct 90 pp 20-21

[Article by Andrey Kondakov: "The Spectre of a Crisis; Will the USSR Gain From the Oil Deficit?"]

[Excerpts] The important arteries supplying the world economy with oil have been cut off by the serious confrontation in the Persian Gulf. Will the situation lead to a new energy crisis? How long will the crisis last and how many countries will it involve? Who will suffer or profit from it, and to what extent?

A "petroruble" is not a "pertrodollar"

The Soviet economy has certainly suffered from the events in the Persian Gulf. Direct losses as a result of economic sanctions against Iraq and of the occupation of Kuwait (Baghdad's failure to supply oil as payment for credits and to make its latest payments in cash, the loss of property and Kuwait's consequential failure to pay for deliveries, and expenditure on the evacuation of Soviet citizens) will total about a billion dollars in 1990 and a figure no lower in 1991. Indirect damage will be expressed in the growth of payment to service our foreign debt and of prices for many imports. The repayment of credits by developing countries may be complicated as well.

A number of countries faced with the discontinuance of oil deliveries from Iraq and Kuwait and the painful rupture of trade and economic ties with them have raised the question of compensation for the damage. In particular, requests for this kind have been admitted to the UN Security Council by Jordan and Bulgaria. They met understanding on the part of leading western countries. Washington suggested that Turkey, Egypt and East European countries should also be included in the group of those who suffered from the Iraqi aggression. A similar re-orientation in the granting of international financial aid, which is likely to increase if the Persian conflict drags out, could substantially reduce our possibilities of receiving western credits.

On the other hand, the recent growth in prices for liquid fuel and gold is likely to improve the prospects of development of the Soviet economy—in the eyes of our foreign partners—and enhance their interest in cooperation with the Soviet Union.

According to the Wall Street Journal, thanks to the increase in prices only, the flow of foreign currency to the Soviet treasury will rise by 7.5 to 10 billion dollars a year. According to the American consultation firm Planecon Incorported, with the growth of the price of oil by one dollar, the Soviet Union will earn an additional billion dollars. Furthermore, it is expected to earn hard currency as a result of changes in payments by member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Western economists estimate that the Soviet Union's total gain in 1991 will be 20 to 25 billion dollars.

Unfortunately, the estimates of the Soviet Union's possible economic gain are very relative because the difficult situation in the output of oil and the supply of the home market with oil products is not taken into account. In 1989, for the first time following World War Two, oil output fell by 2.8 percent (from 624 to 607 million tons) and Soviet oil exports declined by 12 percent (from 14 [as published] to 127 million tons).

Western experts forecast that in 1990, oil production will go down roughly 5-6 percent, and oil exports by 10-12 percent. It is also expected that this alarming tendency will remain, owing to the progressive exhaustion of the Soviet Union's major oil fields, strikes and disturbances in the oil fields of Western Siberia and ethnic conflicts in Transcaucasia.

All these factors are unavoidable. This does not mean, however, that we should sit idle. It would be unforgivable to miss the chance to improve state finances using the "oil shock absorber" to alleviate the painful transition to a market economy. For this purpose we must explore every avenue of preventing a further drop in oil production and export.

A new system of regular currency deductions from exports, introduced in the oil and gas industry for the first time this year, can, in my opinion, help to increase the production and export of oil. If the oil industry provides 98 million tons for export, five percent of the currency earnings will go to its workers. They will receive 10 percent of the currency earnings from the export of 19 million tons produced in excess of that amount and 20 percent from an additional output of eight million tons.

The purposeful implementation of a wide range of measures for energy saving could also release fuel and raw materials for domestic consumption and export. Soviet economists estimate that the country's annual losses in energy consumption make up from 40 to 60 percent of the energy originally produced for economic use. This means that if we reduced our losses by at least 20 percent and directed the energy thus saved for export, the country's export earnings would rise by no less than 10 billion foreign currency rubles. [passage omitted]

The recent growth in oil prices could also have serious adverse consequences for East European countries, which are already experiencing serious difficulties in the process of modernization of their economies. According to Western estimates, if the present volume of fuel imports remain unchanged, the total losses of Eastern Europe as a result of the increased oil bill will be around 14 billion dollars. This is apart from tangible losses incurred by East European countries following the imposition of economic sanctions on Iraq.

Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski recently made known that his country's direct currency losses in its relations with Iraq amounted to 570 million dollars and are likely to total 2.4 billion dollars. Other East European countries will suffer damage as well. According to East European economists, Bulgaria will lose 1.3 billion dollars as a result of Baghdad's failure to repay its debts. The figures for the GDR and Hungary will make up about 700 million and 145 million dollars respectively. The situation is being aggravated by the fact that East European countries will have to increase the rate of the servicing of their 100 billion dollar debt.

Increased Interest Rates for Savers Detailed

PM2910142590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In Implementation of the Decree; In the USSR Finance Ministry, USSR State Bank, and USSR Savings Bank"]

[Text] In implementation of the USSR president's decree "On Increasing Citizens' Interest in Keeping Savings in USSR Savings Bank Institutions," the USSR State Bank and the USSR Savings Bank are introducing the following interest rates for fixed-term [srochnyy] accounts in the USSR Savings Bank: five percent per annum for terms between one and three years; seven percent for terms between three and five years; and nine percent for terms over five years.

The above interest rates are to be applied to fixed-term accounts with USSR Savings Bank institutions as from 1 November 1990.

The owners of fixed-term accounts opened before 1 November 1990 are granted the right to convert them into fixed-term accounts on the new terms. Income is paid on unconverted accounts at the present rate—three percent per annum.

At the same time the interest rate on youth bonus accounts is being raised to five percent per annum and that on targeted children's accounts and savings accounts is being raised to nine percent.

The existing interest rate—two percent per annum—remains for instant-access accounts and varieties of these accounts.

The opening of accounts with the existing interest rates for fixed-term accounts, and also for fixed-term accounts with additional contributions and for contractual accounts, is to cease as of 1 November 1990.

Lottery accounts and lottery accounts with prizes of money and goods can be preserved by decision of Union republic savings banks.

As of 1 November 1990 USSR Savings Bank certificates will earn income of 10 percent on average over the entire 10-year term of the certificates, instead of the present four percent.

For certificates purchased before 1 November 1990, income on the new terms will be paid as from 1 November 1991 for the entire period that savings are kept in Savings Bank certificates.

Income on 1982 State Internal Prize Loan bonds will be paid at the rate of nine percent instead of three percent per annum as of November 1990. In accordance with the new interest rate, as of 15 November 1990, prize drawings for each tranche of the loan will be for 20,000 prizes totaling 6,870,500 rubles, as follows:

Amount of prize (rubles)	Number of prizes	Total value of prizes (rubles)
25,000	5	125,000
10,000	10	100,000
5,000	31	160,000
2,500	49	120,000
1,000	20	20,000
500	1,900	950,000
300	17,985	5,395,500
[Total]	20,000	6,870,500

Commission Discusses Draft Law on Price Setting

914A0028A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by S. Karkhanin: "Who Is Shaving the Price Differential?"]

[Text] It is hard to say what the State Committee for Statistics was guided by when it maintained that prices for non-food goods increased by only four percent. State Committee on Prices [Goskomtsen] Chairman V. Senchagov responded to my question about this by claiming that at issue are the so-called average prices and that many industrial products, which are not getting more expensive, are left outside the field of vision of common shoppers. Perhaps this is not a very convincing explanation. It is natural that many deputies referred to defending consumer rights when the Soviet of the Union Commission for the Issues of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy discussed the draft Basic Legislation of the USSR and the Republics on Price Setting submitted by the government.

One of the ideas of the document is to stabilize the blow of the forthcoming free prices entailed by a market economy by using fixed and maximum prices regulated by the state. All price links can hardly be regulated at the level of republics only, and the task of the center is to work out a unified price policy together with them. Speaking to the commission, V. Senchagov said casually: "To be sure, legal norms have to be complied with, but I worry about how this is to be ensured."

This is how the main topic of the discussion was outlined. Good intentions are pointless if stern reality is not taken into account. Without as much as consulting with their neighbors in Leningrad, they began to sell meat at nine rubles a kilo in Estonia. In Moldova [Moldavia], cigarettes became more than twice as expensive, and nobody heeded the protests of the Goskomtsen over there. The committee did intend to fine the Moscow Soviet 3 million rubles [R] for introducing commercial prices for tobacco in the capital in contravention of the law, but it suspended its own decision.... So, it turns out that the new law may become merely a hollow declaration; in the republics, they will just fail "to notice" it. If that is so, then why adopt this document at all, paying tribute once again to the euphoria of law creation?

The position of many deputies is that by now it is nonsensical to dictate from government offices what is to be sold where and at what prices. The effect may be the opposite. Let us look at procurement prices for grain. They hoped to improve the condition of grain procurement by increasing these prices. However, the distortion immediately affected animal husbandry. Chairman of a Ukrainian kolkhoz [collective farm] A. Vedmid, speaking to the commission, said bitterly: "To be sure, we the villages will now get an increase. However, I do not rejoice at it as a person or as a deputy. At present, close to one-half of the farms are reducing cattle herds and poultry farms are being closed.... Unsettled prices which 'do not dovetail' have brought about speculators and cooperative members harvesting onions on kolkhoz fields are reselling them to city dwellers at exorbitant prices. One haul from the field to a market in a Zhiguli with a trailer nets R1,000!"

Here is a characteristic detail: In the opinion of Professor Yu. Borozdin, one of the expert-specialists invited to the meeting, the depressing landscape of barren store shelves may be changed very rapidly, by just allowing speculation everywhere, and the goods will immediately appear. The professor referred to the experience of Vietnam where the economy was balanced by decontrolling all prices. However, in the course of this one enterprise out of three closed down, and unemployment and organized crime increased sharply.... I believe it is understandable how painful a similar "shock method" would be for the Soviet Union given its current problems. Not a single deputy supported the concept of entrusting the speculators with extricating the country from the crisis. The debate went on.

Deputy Chairman of the commission A. Zhuravlev said: "Unfortunately, all of us have gotten used to working under the whip over a long period of time. This means that giving up administrative methods altogether is premature. A sentry should not leave his post if he has not been relieved. I believe that a one-time price revision is needed in order to balance the economy; only later will it be possible to determine the degree of price freedom. As far as the law itself is concerned, to my mind, this issue should be considered by the republics first. The task of the central authorities is to avert the economic 'sabotage' of one 'sovereign' by another."

A one-shot revision of prices, for example, on 1 January, is an attractive plan, and it has many supporters. However, Professor V. Yefremov, also an expert, communicated the results of his calculations at the same meeting. Opting for this path, the state will be forced to pay more than R600 billion to the populace as compensation.... There is only one way to procure this quota—once again by using the printing press and flooding the consumer market with a new enormous dose of "empty" money that is not backed up by goods. As one of the deputies put it, a cycle of inflation that abrupt may soon bring about nothing for sale to anybody, anywhere.

However, all predictions are groundless unless there is clarity with regard to a program for a transition to a market economy. According to those familiar with the current working version of the program, the document represents a compromise between programs that have already been discussed at a session, and miracles are not to be expected of it. However, it is hardly expedient to adopt a specific law while the main act setting forth the economic reform is still unavailable.

It is another matter that the main obstacle on the road to an abundance of goods is already known. This is the monopolistic structure of the economy that has evolved for decades and the absence of competition among

producers. Naturally, a monopolist would not miss an opportunity to jack up prices: The buyers have no choice.... Antimonopoly legislation will certainly be required which, to be sure, will not help if the paralysis of executive power continues, and the ruble will become merely a colored piece of paper.

Nor can resolute measures be postponed. The deputies taking the floor at the meeting said that their voters were justifiably outraged. Miner V. Gvozdev from Kuzbass and plasterer V. Khmel from Irkutsk Oblast cited facts that testify to the following: Current procedures for trade between regions that evolved spontaneously under the influence of group egoism do not promote social justice and they encroach on the interests of honest workers. At the same time, yet another mystery surfaced. If, according to the aforementioned statistics, the manufacturing of products declined only by a fraction of a percentage point, why are they not to be found at all in the stores? As the salesmen say, nothing at all is being furnished to the stores. Where is it all going?

The reason for having to revisit the fact that numbers are not straight on occasion is simple: It is hard to combat the rampage of high prices without knowing the true state of affairs. Discussing the rates of growth of food prices in the last five years, V. Senchagov mentioned mutton, the price of which has increased more than twofold and reached R16 per kilogram in the markets this year. Chairman of the commission N. Gritsenko made a correction: "Last Sunday, it cost as much as R20 at Cheremushkinskiy Market." The deputies are more prepared to believe their own eyes than statistics, and they are right. A. Zhuravlev believes that "if we are being given understated data on the deficit of the state budget, those guilty should be held personally accountable." Indeed, the collective lack of responsibility that the representatives of the executive organs enjoy clearly interferes with stabilizing prices.

The management system is professionally unprepared for another abrupt inflationary cycle. Meanwhile, the latter is quite possible if the pricing discipline ultimately collapses. You cannot support it by directives. This means that inflation may only be reined in by unconventional ideas. This is what the deputies and the experts are now working on. All differences of opinion notwithstanding, most of them agree that it is not rational to solve partial problems without making strategic decisions. Answers to the main questions are required: What is our state to be? What path will the economy take? These issues will arise for participants in the session next week, when a discussion of the new draft program for a transition to a market economy will begin.

Being guided by these considerations, the deputy commission recommended against the Supreme Soviet considering the draft law on price setting, despite it being entered in the tentative work schedule of the session. The commission is planning to hear a report by Goskomtsen Chairman V. Senchagov on the operation of the committee in the immediate future.

Commissions View Critical Supply Problems

914A0036A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article from the Department of Industry, Transportation, and Construction under the rubric "Continuation of a Conversation—'A Dangerous Crossroads,' 3 October 1990": "They Will Pay With Fish..."]

[Text] **"Specialists and leaders of the Leningrad scientific production association Elektromash support the authors of the open letter to deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and subscribe to the opinion concerning the need to take immediate measures to arrive at plans, calculations, and methodology for 1991 and to provide issues for the structure of the plan, a procedure for supplying it with materials, and preservation of existing ties and agreements. Leaving these questions unresolved threatens an abrupt reduction in the volume of production.**

"[Signed] Sigov, head of the scientific research sector of the All-Union Scientific Research and Design Institute of machine tools with programmed numerical control; Sergeyev, chief of the Planning and Economic Department; and Kalinin, deputy general director of the Leningrad scientific production association for economics."

This telegram is only one of many responses evoked by the publication in our newspaper of an open letter from a group of specialists at the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and in industry ("A Dangerous Crossroads," 3 October 1990) who are troubled by the present and future situation in the economy.

The situation really is critical. The total dismantling of the old system of management in the absence of new economic regulators not only affects the present state of the national economy but evokes critical concern for its near future. With what will we begin 1991? After all, as was noted at the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum, only 35 percent of agreements were concluded by the beginning of October, compared to 70 percent last year. Of course with the adoption of presidential edicts directed at stabilizing economic ties and moving toward the wide use of contractual wholesale prices, many enterprises no longer have to conclude agreements. However, you cannot change the situation in one day, and the edicts will only "pay their way" if the mechanisms for implementing them are created. And in the meantime... In the meantime the editor's teletype continues to offer more new food for thought. We will consider several of these communications.

"Moscow, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office

"For ten days in October, only 50 percent of the plan was met for the dispatch of container cars for refined products. Because of a lack of free capacity, the factory is almost at a halt. All appeals to the USSR Ministry of Railways, the government of the republic, and the USSR Council of Ministers have brought no results. The country is

deprived of tens of thousands of tonnes of valuable products—gasoline, diesel, and lubricants. The factory collective requests that the rail workers do everything possible to stabilize the situation.

"[Signed] Ippolitov, director of the factory
"Safronov, chairman of the STK [Union of Labor Collectives] Ukhta

And this is what the director of one of the country's largest machine-tool associations reported in an open telegram to the leaders of the USSR and RSFSR.

We request and demand that the issues of supply of materials and equipment be jointly worked out for 1991.

Ties with CEMA were built over decades, and they are being destroyed as of 1 January 1990. Without deliveries of Polish electromagnetic clutches and chucks for machine tools and without drives with programmed numerical control from Bulgaria, a majority of the country's machine-tool factories are going to come to a genuine halt in January 1991, lose personnel, and will be in danger of being dismantled. It requires two to three years to organize production of the aforementioned goods in this country. Our enterprises do not have at their disposal the hard currency needed to purchase them. The situation is aggravated by refusals from the Baltic Republics, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus to supply the component parts.

The ministries, Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], and Gosplan are not solving these problems. As issues between the Union and the republics drag on, we are at an impasse.

The telegram was signed by A.S. Tsubarenko, general director of the Ryazan machine-tool production association; Yu.I. Kirillov, general director of the Moscow "Krasnyy Proletariy" machine-tool production association; V.G. Skachkov, general director of the Gorkiy machine-tool production association; Ye.V. Revinskiy, director of the Central Volga machine-tool construction factory; and O.A. Satikov, general director of the production association of the Kolomna factory for heavy machine-tool construction.

As we see, the lack of balance in economic ties, lack of agreement in the actions of the center and the republics, and interruptions in the supply of materials and equipment are taking on an increasingly critical nature.

Violations of contractual obligations have become a genuine misfortune. This virus has unfortunately affected the entire national economy. And while those in the central regions suffering from the treachery of suppliers somehow manage to "get by," what about those in areas like, for example, Kamchatka? The economy of the peninsula depends in good measure on deliveries from outside—on the importation of production from the mainland and from abroad. The residents of Kamchatka themselves produce practically nothing but fish and products from the sea. As a result, any interruption in deliveries will immediately affect the local enterprises. S. Borovkov, the TASS correspondent in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy tells the newspaper about a typical example.

The output of the local confectionery factory is in wide demand by consumers. But it does not indulge them too often: There is a shortage of one thing and then another.

"Our partners in the Vladivostok confectionery factory canceled the delivery of 20 tonnes of chocolate and glaze. True, they promise to send it soon, but we still do not have a firm guarantee that their word will be kept," complains G. Kuzmin, director of the Petropavlovsk factory. "One of the factories in Lipetsk Oblast owes us 200 tonnes of syrup. We also have not been able to receive several other ingredients for chocolate candy from our suppliers. So in order that the customers of Kamchatka, who have hardly been spoiled with tasty confectionery goods, may buy something, we are sending messengers and executives all over the country. True, not all partners are prepared to hold to the letter of the contract. We are beginning to arrange our deliveries under new conditions. For example, the Kiev food goods machinery association asked for fish in exchange for technological equipment (what else are they going to get from the residents of Kamchatka?). We had to go, cap in hand, to the Kamchatka Oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] to explain that soon the residents will be entirely without candy. They met us halfway. But what if we did not have fish? And what will happen next year?"

Yes, we have reached that point. Previously we paid by check. Now will we pay with fish? It would be possible to name several "trouble" sectors in the national economy, but there is one which we do not have the right to ignore. Because it affects people's health. The medicine situation is terrible. For example, as TASS correspondent I. Zolotareva reports, only one-fifth of the residents of Leningrad are guaranteed the necessary medical preparations in the event of illness in 1991.

"We are only speaking about domestic medicines," specified L.Ye. Sizemova, deputy general director of the Leningrad pharmacy association. "As for imports, nothing is clear. As you know, our suppliers from the countries of East Europe are prepared to conclude contracts so long as they are paid in hard currency. They do not take into account the fact that it will cost more. For the time being we only know for sure that Leningrad will receive two percent of future import purchases, which is, incidentally, less than in the preceding year."

So, the demand for domestic preparations has only been 19 percent satisfied. Is there any assurance that even this volume will be maintained? For example, for this year the city was allotted 7.4 million packets of dipyrone, but 5.16 million packets have still not been received. Nor have 5.7 million packets of analginum. The demand for tsitramon [name as transliterated] has only been 40 percent fulfilled. The list goes on. The main reason for

the unfulfilled contracts is that 20 of the country's pharmaceutical factories have either been closed for ecological considerations or are idling due to an absence of raw materials.

"Events in the Baltic and Transcaucasus regions are having an effect," added L.Ye. Sizemova. "And at least the Baltic region has the good etiquette to inform us ahead of time that some medicines will not be supplied; the same services in the Transcaucasus republics do not even see the need to do that much. For instance, Tbilisi will not even tell us where the 300,000 flasks of colibacterin that they owe us are and whether we will continue to receive it in the future. Our letters and telegram to Azerbaijan enterprises do not get answered. The Yerevan factory does not answer—there is hardly a single supplier of analginum today."

There are few opportunities to correct the situation through one's own efforts—the medicines are centrally distributed. At the same time, powerful antibiotics are sitting in warehouses past their effective date. It is not that they are new medicines which are unknown around the country. The primary problem is price. Few medical institutions can replenish their empty stocks of penicillin, costing 11 kopeks per small flask, with British "Fortum" [name as transliterated] at 11 rubles, an increase by a factor of 100.

These reports alone show that life, as never before, requires decisive actions. And those who have acknowledged this are stubbornly looking for new, nontraditional ways to get out of the impasse. V. Pavlov, the TASS correspondent in Barnaul, reported that a constituent congress of representatives of local soviets of the western Siberia region and Krasnoyarsk Kray ended a few days ago. This what A. Kuleshov, chairman of the Altay Kray Soviet of People's Deputies, declared as he talked about the results:

"Life itself has compelled us Siberians to create an integrated economic regional structure so that through it we may satisfy our needs as much as possible with regard to existing sources. The first organizational step in this direction was the conference that took place in Kemerovo. Representatives from Krasnoyarsk and Altay Krays, Khakasia, and Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Tomsk, and Tyumen Oblasts took part in it. A concluding document, the 'Siberian Agreement,' was adopted. It is not a question of some sort of political isolation of the region but of consolidating production and trade ties in it and of strict observation of delivery discipline. Our neighbors must become reliable partners and have room to maneuver and undertake those affairs which are mutually profitable. I will cite an example. Tyumen Oblast is preparing to buy equipment abroad to produce pasta. It is a good idea. But they do not have a sufficient quantity of durum wheat for this. It is better to give this equipment to Altay, where such wheat is grown, and we will supply everyone in the region with macaroni products. I am convinced that this will permit us to reduce losses of grain and to halt transportation losses. And now we can decide this question ourselves, without seeking the agreement of the center or the republic.

"It has also been considered advisable to coordinate efforts to produce consumer goods. Let us suppose that today all the territories simultaneously began to produce washing machines and other large consumer appliances. Why do that? Another path must be taken. Increase the output of consumer goods currently being produced. For instance Kemerovo Oblast, by producing two or three times more electric ranges than it now produces, will be able to send them to its neighbors and in return receive those same washing machines, etc.

"As for emergency measures, we agreed to use the fourth quarter of this year to make up our mutual shortfalls in production on contracts already concluded. And to maintain, as a minimum, 1989 volumes of movement of commodities produced in our regions during 1991. Then we will deliver additional commodities to one another the following year on the basis of bilateral agreements.

"An exchange for material resources and a unified information system for recording securities and labor resources will be organized to provide for these tasks. The guarantors for the implementation of the obligations that have been undertaken are the kray and oblast soviets, which have to approve the 'Siberian Agreement' adopted at the conference. All routine activities are entrusted to a interregional council which is situated in Novosibirsk and which will create for itself the necessary working organs."

In conclusion, we will report that the USSR Supreme Soviet's Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission, Commission on Questions of Industry, Energy, Engineering, and Technology, and Committee on Questions of Economic Reform conducted a joint session and examined the open letter from the workers of the USSR Gosplan and industry that was published in the newspaper. The commissions fully share the authors' alarm concerning the existing economic conditions in the country and concerning the situation with regard to the drafting of a plan for 1991. There is particular apprehension concerning the conclusion of agreements for the manufacture and delivery of machine-building output and the output of other national economic complexes which help to ensure maintenance of the country's standard of living.

Under existing conditions the committees and commissions considered it necessary to implement a series of immediate organizational and legal acts directed at ensuring the functioning of the economy and stabilization of a unified economic system for the country under conditions of a transitional period in 1991.

Scientific

Cosmonauts Conduct Space Walk To Repair Hatch

Cosmonaut Describes Mission

LD2910225190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Excerpt] And now, space is on the line. When nightfall comes to Moscow, cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov will be beginning their work in space. Our special correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev contacted the Mir complex. Here is what the cosmonauts told him:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified cosmonaut] The tasks of the EVA [extra vehicular activity] include a detailed examination of the exit hatch, and according to the results of this examination, the specialists on the ground will probably give their final recommendations. At the moment, we are expecting one option for repair of this hatch, but it is possible—conclusions on this will be drawn after our egress—it is possible that there will be another option for repair. We hope that the first option will go all right, and the hatch will function well, normally. During this EVA we will also remove the camera from the independent TV complex, there are some minor faults there as well, although in general it is working all right, as you have probably seen (?in TV reports). But certain [words indistinct] work will have to be done. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Fail To Repair Hatch

LD3010030390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0130 GMT on 30 October carries a three-minute report from Flight Control Center by special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich on the spacewalk by cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov. Lazarvich reports that the cosmonauts have already returned to the station. They spent over three hours outside. Their job was an extremely complicated one. Lazarevich says: "They went outside and saw that the unit preventing the hatch from being closed was in an extremely bad state. Evidently, the support brackets there had also been damaged and the bearing had been damaged as well. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to repair it. Two clamps were installed and it was then that the most difficult problems arose. The most dramatic moment occured here when we doubted whether the cosmonauts would be able to close the hatch, which had been achieved with great difficulty by the previous crew. They sweated very, very much for some time. The Flight Control Center was very, very nervous for some time. I want to say what is most important—the Flight Control Center already knows—the hatch has been closed and the crew is working inside. Now it is being discussed what else needs to be done. Evidently, the repair of this very same unit will be carried out later, by the following expedition. Can it be thought that this spacewalk was in vain? On the whole, the crew did everything it could, but did not succeed. A negative result is also a result in cosmonautics. Well, work with the hatch will be continued. Perhaps the maximum tasks have not been fulfilled, but the minimum task has been fulfilled. A survey has been carried out and now we know how to live and act further. And in Zvezdnyy Gorodok work will continue on preparing for a new spacewalk, a spacewalk by the new expedition. I remind you that this expedition is to start on 2 December."

Cosmonauts Continue Experiments Onboard Mir

LD2610125290 Moscow TASS in English 1236 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—Cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov, onboard the Soviet Mir space station, continued astrophysical research and materials' tests over the past two days.

The crew began a melting process on the Zona-02 installation to grow a monocrystal of germanium.

They made several measurements of the roentgen and gamma radiation with the Buket (Bouquet) spectrometric equipment mounted outside the Kristal module.

The flight commander and engineer also underwent comprehensive medical check-ups of their cardiovascular systems while exercising on the bike.

Both cosmonauts are in good health.

Today Manakov and Strekalov are preparing for a spacewalk, scheduled for October 30.

Defense Official Explains Baykonur Accident

LD2610134190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Oct 90 First Edition p 4

[Letter from L. Yelizarov with reply by Major M. Arkhipov: "What Happened to the Zenit Rocket"]

[Text] "On 4 October this year an accident occurred during the launch of a rocket at the Baykonur Space Center. As usual in these cases, a brief report appeared in the press. Could you give a detailed account of what actually happened that day at Baykonur?"

[Signed] L. Yelizarov, Volgodonsk.

Major M. Arkhipov, senior press officer of the USSR Defense Ministry space units, replies:

At the Baykonur Space Center on the morning of 4 October, there was a scheduled launch of a Cosmos satellite which was put into near-earth orbit by a Zenit launcher rocket.

At 0728 hours, 3 seconds after launch, there was a malfunction, which specialists now believe to have been damage to an RD-170 engine in the tail section of the

first stage—causing the rocket to fall onto the launch pad and explode. The actual cause of the accident will become known later.

In view of the fact that the Zenit launch is fully automated and "unmanned" there were no casualties among the space units' combat crew [boyevoy raschet] or the representatives of industrial enterprises and scientific research organizations attending the launch (about 100 people). As a result of the accident, however, the pad at the complex where the rocket was launched was destroyed. The second launch pad, where maintenance work had begun before the accident, was undamaged. When servicing is complete it will be used before the end of the year for routine launches.

Commission Views Progress on Chernobyl Cleanup

PM2910154990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Government Commission on Eliminating the Consequences of the Accident at Chernobyl AES"]

[Text] The commission examined progress in fulfilling the USSR Government targets stemming from the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On an Integrated Program To Eliminate the Consequences of the Accident at Chernobyl AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station] and the Situation Resulting From That Accident."

It was noted that the necessary organizational measures have been taken and that Union and republican committees to eliminate the consequences of the accident at Chernobyl AES have been set up and entrusted with coordinating work to monitor the implementation of the state Union republican program.

Work has been done to more fully supply the population with medicines. Thus an extra allocation of 87 types of medicines worth 775,000 rubles has been specifically made for the stricken rayons of Bryansk Oblast. Allocations of medical equipment and medicines in the Ukraine have been increased by 30 percent for rayons with an unfavorable radiation situation. An extra 2,700 physicians and general medical personnel have been assigned to Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts, and measures are being taken to provide them with well appointed housing. Additional resources are being used to supply the population with food on the basis of recommended consumption norms. Restorative treatment for the population of the stricken rayons, especially for children, is better organized than in previous years.

House-to-house radiation screening of 1,168 population centers numbering 104,300 structures within zones of radioactive contamination ranging between five and 40 curies per square kilometer has been carried out, which is about one-half of the volume of this work.

Work on the additional medical screening of participants in operations to eliminate the consequences of the accident is being carried out. Seventeen regional interdepartmental expert councils to establish the causal connection between sicknesses and invalidity and operations to eliminate the accident at Chernobyl AES have been set up.

The aerial gamma spectroscopic survey of territory of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], and Belorussian SSR has been largely completed and, after the results have been processed, a more detailed map of cesium-137 ground contamination will be compiled for practical use and for the population's information.

At the same time the government commission noted that the Union republic councils of ministers and a number of USSR ministries and departments are failing to ensure the smooth commissioning of housing. Thus the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction and the USSR Defense Ministry failed to ensure the commissioning of 7,400 square meters of housing in Bryansk Oblast, and over the first nine months only 35 percent of the annual plan for the construction of housing for resettled families was commissioned in the RSFSR as a whole, 57 percent in the Ukraine, and 27 percent in Belorussia. The target of the 1990 program for the mandatory resettlement of the population from the zone with a contamination density of over 40 curies per square kilometer has been 13 percent fulfilled in the Ukrainian SSR, 68 percent fulfilled in the Belorussian SSR, and 72 percent fulfilled in the RSFSR. There must be a careful investigation of the state of affairs regarding these questions and the government commission must be told within 10 days of the measures that have been taken.

Among other tasks, the main ones for implementation in 1991 were deemed to be the following: completing the resettlement of residents from population centers on which such a decision has been made; further developing outpatient medical screening of children, young families, and other population groups; organizing restorative treatment for children during the summer period; creating additional capacities for the production of children's foodstuffs and increasing deliveries of them; completing the house-to-house radiation survey of population centers.

The session heard a briefing from Academician S.T. Belyayev, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Coordination Council of Scientific Problems Connected With Eliminating the Consequences of the Chernobyl AES Accident, on progress in preparing, with the participation of foreign scientists and specialists, the concept and criteria for the safe residence of people on territories exposed to radioactive contamination, which are to be submitted in November of this year for examination in the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission examined the special "Children of Chernobyl" program. Attention was drawn to the need for a more specific approach toward elaborating practical measures. In the light of the discussion the USSR

Ministry of Health, with the participation of other ministries and departments and social organizations, was instructed to carry out additional work on this document and to submit it to the USSR Government.

People's deputies of the USSR and Union republics and representatives of the public took part in the session. The session was chaired by V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Military

Domestic Reaction to Novaya Zemlya Test Reported

Arkhangelsk 'Top Leaders' Not Informed

LD2910154990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Only two representatives from Arkhangelsk Oblast were taken to Novaya Zemlya by the command of the nuclear test site. Only today did they visit the place where the nuclear test was carried out, although back in June an agreement was signed according to which the test site's command pledged to inform the leaders of Arkhangelsk Oblast of a test 24 hours prior to its start. But this was not done.

The command of the test site claims that it telephoned Arkhangelsk but could not contact the top leaders. The second section of the agreement on bringing members of the public of the oblast and people's deputies to the site on the following day was also not complied with. On this point, the command referred to the bad weather.

Deputies Plan Protests

PM2710151890 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 p 1

[I. Sichka report: "We Blast Without Warning!"]

[Text] The day before yesterday at around noon, USSR People's Deputy G. Borovik approached his colleague A. Vyucheyskiy and gave him a piece of news: That morning he had had a telephone call from Helsinki saying that there was going to be a nuclear explosion today at the test range in the Novaya Zemlya region. Since A. Vyucheyskiy is an activist in the "For a Nuclear-Free North" movement, G. Borovik wondered what he thought of this news. Vyucheyskiy stated firmly: This cannot be.

First of all, how could people in Finland know that an explosion is being planned? Second, no explosions have been carried out at the test range in the Novaya Zemlya region for almost two years now. Third and most important, after a deputy's question in October 1989, A. Vyucheyskiy received the following answer:

"...the question of carrying out tests on the Novaya Zemlya islands will be discussed with the republic and oblast leadership and with people's deputies from the relevant districts."

The answer was signed by I. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and L. Ryabov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Fuel and Power Complex.

Deputy Vyucheyskiy also knew that the military's attempt to take the question of choosing a new test range through Supreme Soviet committees had not yet met with success. He said all this to the worried G. Borovik, and on that note they parted.

Imagine their surprise when the very same evening the "Vremya" program broadcast an official report to the effect that at 1800 hours Moscow time 24 October an underground nuclear explosion was carried out in the area of the Novaya Zemlya islands. A. Vyucheyskiy immediately started ringing everyone who should have been notified that nuclear tests were starting again on Novaya Zemlya in accordance with the government's promises. But neither Ye. Alekseyev, chairman of the Nenetsk Okrug Soviet Executive Committee, nor Yu. Shchegolkov, deputy chairman of the Arkhangelsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, nor A. Vishnyakov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic, knew about the planned explosion.

Thus, this is the latest example (how many have there been) of the government not carrying out its numerous promises. In this connection, a group of USSR people's deputies from Arkhangelsk Oblast are now planning to lodge an official protest with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Yesterday Deputy Vyucheyskiy sent the editorial office an appeal for mass rallies to be held in the northern regions of the country demanding a ban on nuclear tests on the Novaya Zemlya islands, the resignation of I. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, because he deceived the people, and the resolute fulfillment of all government decisions on the Novaya Zemlya test range and adjacent territories.

Reassurances Given on Test Safety

PM2910150590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Second Edition pp 1, 6

[A. Pokrovskiy report: "'Zero' Plus One: We Report Details of Nuclear Explosion in Region of Novaya Zemlya Islands"]

[Text] Of course, I would have been more pleased to report fulfillment of the wish all we participants in one of the experiments to verify underground nuclear explosions wrote down on the seismogram that captured the underground echo of an event that occurred a hemisphere away from us: "Let us hope it is the last one."

This was in 1986 at the North Kazakhstan Seismograph Station. And to this day I have kept the document, although our hopes have not fully materialized. This year alone the United States has already carried out seven explosions of new forms of nuclear weapons, France has carried out four, and China two. The Soviet Union had not carried out any until now.

Let us face the truth, however harsh it may be. To carry on "being silent" in these conditions would mean to lag behind the current level of armaments and jeopardize the country's security. But it is not difficult to predict the mixed reaction to this event abroad, and indeed in our country. And, as has become customary in recent times, it will be surrounded by all kinds of conjectures and rumors. Therefore, on the basis of the strengthening principles of glasnost I asked permission to witness an explosion—as far as possible—in order to be able to speak honestly about everything I saw and heard.

To begin with, the nearest point to this event was the office of Vice Admiral G. Zolotukhin, chief of a Navy directorate. Apart from the boss, a group of the specialists who had prepared this test was here. And all information on events at the Novaya Zemlya test site was to be reported here promptly. My new acquaintances were not very talkative before the scheduled "zero" hour.

I understood, because they were visualizing that most tightly sealed deep gallery beneath the mountain where the "item" was sitting motionless; the numerous sensors of the "Splav" automatic system, designed to tell the experimenters about pressure, radiation, direction of air flow, and other results of the explosion; the "Tunets" remote-control automated radiation monitoring system on the surface; and, of course, their comrades the theoretical physicists, the designers of the "item," the workers at the test site who were there now on Novaya Zemlya. It was for their benefit that helicopters would take off to hover above the ground and ships would be in full readiness as the "zero" hour approached—if something happened, people would have to be evacuated at lightning speed. Weapons will be weapons, and particularly experimental weapons. What is more, this one had been lying in the shaft for quite some time for various reasons, including waiting for the right weather from the sea. The wind must be able to carry a radioactive cloud toward the ocean if one should suddenly appear.

"Silence," the admiral said. "'Zero hour'!"

Literally a few minutes later we heard the following report:

"The experiment has been carried out successfully. According to preliminary data, the situation is normal."

The admiral started reporting to his superiors, and I was told that the data from the numerous sensors was being examined, helicopters were circling the mountain, measuring the parameters of the atmosphere, while above them, a specially equipped airplane was doing the same thing.

Here it is, this detailed report. Of all the information, I will dwell on one thing—currently the most important thing—the level of radioactivity is the same as the natural background.

"Did you hear?" the admiral asked. "This is an official report that has not been embellished for the press in any way, which is something that some people are likely to accuse us of. Yes of course, a military test site is not the place for an evening stroll. We also have specially demarcated security zones there, which, incidentally, are a legacy of the surface experiments. But I and many of my comrades here have served at the test site for many years and have raised children there. Surely we are not our own enemies and we would not be silent if the radiation situation was not being monitored.

"Yes, I understand the concern of the population in the areas near the test site," he continued. "The ecological situation there is alarming. But you have to ascertain where the influence of the test site extends, and where there is careless management. Finally, I would like to mention something else. The—admittedly uninvited—Greenpeace expedition to Novaya Zemlya confirmed our data about the level of radiation there, even to their own surprise.

"Now turn your attention to the following: The million-plus city of Los Angeles is about 500 km from the Nevada test sites. The vacation city of Las Vegas is only about 110-160 km away from them. This does not cause alarm among residents or vacationers. Now compare. Murmansk is 920 km from our test site. Arkhangelsk—1,100 km, and Naryan-Mar—620 km. Yet people constantly suspect us of something..."

[Pokrovskiy] "So, maybe it is worth opening up the test site for representatives of neighboring areas? Maybe they need to see things for themselves?"

[Zolotukhin] "That is exactly what we are doing. A group of people's deputies is flying out there in the next few days. Would you like to come along with us and view the situation there following this test?"

[Pokrovskiy] Yes, of course. So the next report will come from Novaya Zemlya.

Ship's Gun Accidentally Fired in Vladivostok

LD3010084190 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 30 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Palagutin]

[Text] Vladivostok October 30 TASS—Several artillery shots boomed in Golden Horn Gulf, the very centre of Vladivostok, at 17:15 on Monday [29 October]. Seventeen shells were fired from the large submarine chaser "Admiral Vinogradov".

V. Kolganov from the local armaments factory, who was working on the artillery mount that day, was responsible for the unsanctioned shots. There was no proper control

over the gun which happened to be loaded. Kolganov began checking the firing circuit without seeing first whether the weapon was loaded or not. The triggering mechanism worked faultlessly.

The city was saved from serious damage by the angle of the gun barrels, which were almost vertical.

An investigation has begun.

Autumn Draft 'More Complex' Than In Spring

LD2810121190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] The autumn draft is underway, writes journalist Izgarshev in PRAVDA. Last spring the draft was very complex in many regions, so the military authorities were hoping to get all the recruits they need from the autumn draft. But the autumn draft has turned out to be even more complex than the spring one. The Baltic region will produce barely half of the recruits it is supposed to. Armenia says it will only provide recruits for construction detachments deployed within the republic. In Georgia the draft target is only being met thanks, basically, to recruitment in Abkhazia and South Osetia. Azerbaijan also intends to hold on to 50 percent of its draftees. They will be seconded to local construction and civil defense detachments, and to the ground forces only if the worst comes to the worst. In the capital alone there are now over 600 criminal cases involving draft dodgers. They have been handed over to the prosecuting authorities, but nobody has as yet come before a court.

Truly, PRAVDA says, something is not quite right. Has the time really come when Nizhniy Novogorod, Khorezm, or Poltava can be defended solely by their own armed forces, recruited from among local volunteers? I know I risk drawing upon myself the wrath of quite a few people who are antagonistic toward the army these days, Izgarshev writes. But who today could provide an absolute guarantee of the security of the country and the people without the Army and Navy?

Scuttled Destroyer Poses Radioactive Risk

LD2910122390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0430 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Report by correspondent Tarasov; from the "120 Minutes" program]

[Excerpts] Lake Ladoga is famous for its beauty and purity. There is a group of islands on this lake where the testing of military apparatus has taken place. It has recently become apparent that here, in the sound between the islands, a ship with radioactive materials in its hold was beached in the early sixties. This former fascist destroyer was handed over to our country after victory. It served in the Baltic fleet and was named Podvizhnyy. Later it was re-equipped for tests on the secret subject matter of the atomic department headed by the not-unknown figure of Beriya. The vessel was renamed Kit.

[Video shows correspondent dressed in protective clothing] You may be surprised at my appearance. Our group has already dressed itself specially for the radioactive circumstances. [passage omitted]

The main danger is contained in the water in the hold. There is approximately 2,000 tonnes of it. It contains Strontium-90 nuclides. But what experiments were carried out on the Kit? Experts surmize that radioactive protectors were developed here. They are means of protection from radiation. The objective of this work was totally humane. Unfortunately, it was rounded off in an exceedingly inhumane manner. Beriya, or one of his subordinates, issued an order and the vessel was turned into a container with radioactive waste and was scuttled here by the islands. In those days orders were not discussed.

Decades have passed since then. The ship could break up. Lake Ladoga, the River Neva, and Leningrad are at risk. Navy specialists are eliminating this risk.

[Rear Admiral K. Tulin, commander of the operation] Preparatory work has begun prior to the salvaging, which is planned for next summer. When the vessle is floated the underwater part of the hull will finally be made watertight. [passage omitted]

Troops Resettled After Pullout From East Europe

PM2610153990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Report by S. Vetoshkin and V. Privezentsev in Shuya; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] [Video shows garrison views] The troops of the Shuya Garrison have had to do quite a bit of work to find room for another 520 families of officers and warrant officers who had been serving in Czechoslovakia. Several barracks have been refitted as officers' quarters and many families have been put up in the garrison hotel. [Video shows room interior] Of course, family life in these cramped conditions is not easy—but it is only a temporary arrangement. Now, just three months after ground was broken, families are being moved into two new blocks of 70 apartments each. The foundations for another three blocks have been laid nearby.

[I.N. Naumov, deputy political officer at the Shuya Garrison] Obviously, we could not have built these apartments so quickly if we had not had help from the city. The city soviet allocated land very quickly—and it was land that was earmarked for a residential project. There are no major problems over heating, water, or gas. These everyday problems are being solved very rapidly here.

[Correspondent] Tell me, are the problems of finding places for children in schools and kindergartens or jobs for officers' wives being resolved?

[Naumov] Yes, we are also solving those problems with the city's help.

[Correspondent] Oleg Ignatyevich, surely all these things affect the people of Shuya too?

[Oleg Ignatyevich Mayko, deputy chairman of the Shuya City Soviet Executive Committee] Obviously, we in the city have certain difficulties. We have a shortage of school places. We having heating problems in the residential district where we are now. But we believe that, whatever difficulties may arise, we should always help out our Soviet Army.

[Correspondent] Yes, we have to help the Army, and we have to fully understand its problems. Arrangements are being made to house the troops not only here in Shuya, but in Nizhniy Novgorod, Kursk, and Tambov. And in general the military themselves and the soviet leaders believe that the problems caused by housing the units withdrawn from East Europe would be resolved far more effectively if preparations for the troop withdrawal were begun in good time and if the withdrawal itself were not being carried out in so hasty a manner.

Baltic Republics

Nordic Council To Form Baltic Organization

LD2910100290 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 29 Oct 90

[By LETA-TASS correspondent Aivar Baumanis]

[Text] Riga October 29 TASS—The Nordic Council has earmarked more than 14 million Danish korner for the participation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in a programme to develop Baltic and East European countries' relations with the council—a consultative organisation of parliamentarians from Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland and Sweden.

The programme envisages opening information bureaus of Nordic countries in Riga, Tallinn and Vilnius. The bureaus would be mediatory centres for exchanging information, documents, practical mutual assistance and economic cooperation.

Branches of Swedish and Finnish consulates-general will open in Riga next year. Denmark will send a permanent counsellor to the Latvian capital.

The Nordic Council is particularly concerned over the ecological state of the Baltic Sea. The council has set aside about 30 million Danish korner to be used in all Baltic countries to render the sea healthier.

An international ecological conference will be held in Helsinki at the end of October to specify a five-year cooperation plan.

Economic cooperation also figured importantly in the programme. Baltic and East European pools have been set up as a commercial bridge.

Provision has also been made to help Baltic and East European countries in education. A student grant fund of five million kroner has been established to finance the training of students, faculty members and young scientists at universities and scientific institutions of Nordic countries.

Baltics Feared as 'New Totalitarian States'

91UN0121E Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 27 Sep 90 p 5

[Unattributed article: "The Baltic Republics Are New Totalitarian States?"]

[Text] The subject of the Baltic states put some bright tints onto the multicolored palette of the problems discussed at a three-day Soviet-Finnish seminar of journalists which took place in Leningrad. In the course of discussions dedicated to the tasks of the press on the eve of the second Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the ambiguity and contradictoriness of the influence of the Baltic processes on the construction of a common European home were emphasized.

"Our Finnish colleagues do not believe that the issue of the sovereignty of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia is only an internal matter of the Soviet Union. These problems, in their opinion, must be discussed in a European context," said Voldemars Khermanis, who attended the seminar and is editor of the Latvian newspaper TEVZEMES AVIZE, in a conversation with LETA correspondent Petr Manko. He noted that the Moscow representatives at the meeting had expressed the fear that new totalitarian states would be created in the Baltic region. Nonetheless, the majority of participants at the seminar viewed such a statement as "an exaggeration." It was stressed that there must also be a place for the three Baltic republics in the European home.

Lithuanian, USSR Hold Discussion in Moscow

Delegations Examine Protocol

LD2910185790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Report by ELTA special correspondent Arturaa Mankevicius from Moscow]

[Text] A meeting of the joint working group of the Lithuanian and Soviet delegations discussing the protocol on the beginning of the negotiations between the two countries continued in Moscow today.

During the break at 1500 Moscow time, Egidijus Bickauskas, who phoned the Lithuanian mission in Moscow, noted that negotiations continue to clarify some differences in position. These differences should be noted in the protocol on the beginning of negotiations. No final desision has been reached. One cannot foresee how long the meeting will continue.

The Lithuanian side submitted its version of the protocol on the beginning of the negotiations, with alternatives, a few days ago. The Soviet Union's working group arrived at the meeting without even an outline of the protocol on the beginning of negotiations. Only a few hours after the beginning of the meeting, the Soviet Union side submitted its version, which is not final. One can say that the Lithuanian representatives arrived at the meeting having done their homework well.

Talks Run Into 'Difficulties'

LD3010045190 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] The Lithuanian-Soviet working grop preparing a protocol on the beginning of bilateral negotiations met in Moscow today. The meeting in the Kremlin lasted seven hours and, according ot reports from Moscow, was progressing with difficulties. The meeting was chaired by Lithuanian Deputy Chairman Romualdas Ozolas and Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

As is known, according to an agreement between the delegations on negotiations, the working group had to

prepare the protocol for the beginning of negotiations in 10 days, that is by tomorrow. The Lithuanian side submitted the protocol for the beginning of negotiations with alternatives a few days ago. Meanwhile, the Soviet experts arrived at today's meeting without even an outline of the protocol. Only a few hours after the beginning of the meeting the Soviet side submitted its version, which was not final.

Romualdas Ozolas today refused to comment on the results of the Kremlin meeting, stating that such was mutual agreement. Only about 20 days remain before the start of official interstate negotiations. The Lithuanian deputy chairman expressed his hope that until then both sides will prepare a mutually acceptable protocol. However, if we are not able to sign the protocol on the beginning of negotiations, the beginning of the negotiations will not coincide with the planned date, stated Romualdas Ozolas.

The working group's meeting will continue when an agreement is reached on the date of the meeting. Today, the Lithuanian representatives returned from Moscow to Vilnius.

Talks Conclude

LD2910195790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] [words indistinct] and by deputy chairman of the Soviet Union's Council of Ministers, Vitaliy Doguzhiv, has to prepare a protocol for the official beginning of the negotiations. Ten days have been allocated for this, and tomorrow is the last day.

Principal attention at today's meeting was paid to the possibilities of signing the negotiation protocol.

Having returned after 1800 GMT from the Kremlin, Romualdas Ozolas states that the work on the protocol will continue. Preparations for it will continue until the intended beginning of the negotiations in the last 10 days of November, apart from the work by the teams of experts. If by the beginning of the negotiations the protocol is not signed, as is demanded by the Lithuanian delegation, the negotiations may not open on the planned date.

After the meeting in the Kremlin, the representatives of Lithuania left Moscow for Vilnius.

Landsbergis Interviewed on 'Who Is Who' Program

LD2810135690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Interview with Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis by political observer Viktor Lyubovtsev on 26 October; from the "Who Is Who?" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Lyubovtsev] Good evening, comrade viewers. Today we again invite you to the "Who is Who?" program in the "Political Dialogues" series, produced by Central Television's "Political Dialogues" creative association. Let me say first that our program today is an unusual one. First, its permanent presenter Igor Fesunenko, my colleague, is on an assignment, and the editorial staff has asked me to present the program. But the main thing is that one of the two guests we were expecting, and who had promised to attend, is not with us in the studio—namely Comrade Masaliyev, chairman of the Kirghizian Supreme Soviet. This morning he telephoned and apologized that he would not be arriving in Moscow from Frunze as an extraordinary session of the Kirghizian legislature is continuing its work, and of course he has to be there and to participate in its work. Incidentally, for the same reason we will not be showing a short report by our special correspondents in Frunze.

So in the studio today we have a single guest. Allow me to present him—Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council.

It thus turns out, Mr Landsbergis—this form of address is the customary one in Lithuania, although it still sounds unusual to our ears—that you are faced today by a double load, and the load is no small one because here already is a big pile of letters received today from viewers after they learned that you would be taking part in this program. They contain a host of questions pertaining to specific problems concerning Lithuania and its relations with the center and the Soviet Union. I think that as we proceed there will be even more questions.

I would like to remind television viewers of our telephone number: It is 217-45-43. As you know, the number has 12 lines. Therefore, I think viewers will be able to get through to us, and our stenographers are ready to work.

Now, by tradition we are going to show a brief movie on our guest shot by our special correspondent in Vilnius. Here is a brief report from the Lithuanian capital.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] In the langauge of a musician, is your current work an etude, an improvization, or a possible major symphony?

[Landsbergis] It is difficult to compare. Creative work contains everything—work, endeavor, and sometimes improvization; you cannot get by without it.

[Correspondent] I see you have a photograph of Vaclav Havel on the wall. Do you want to be like him, or is he just a supporter of yours?

[Landsbergis] He is a very kind, nice, and worthy person. I find it nice to see his photograph. When I got the photograph, I asked for it to be framed and hung here.

[Correspondent] As I see it, he is close to you in the sense that he is a member of the opposition who became a leader. Why not Lech Walesa or someone else?

[Landsbergis] It is not quite like that. Vaclav Havel's photo is not here because he is a former opposition

leader who became the leader of a country. There have indeed been others who, after being leaders of the opposition, became leaders of their countries. It is just that he is close to me on a personal level.

[Correspondent] Is there a politician outside Lithuania you would like to work and cooperate with, and support in the same harness, as the saying goes?

[Landsbergis] I do meet leaders from different countries, very clever and kind people, who view with understanding and good will the problems of other peoples and countries. So one would like to think that there should be more politicians like that, like for instance the leaders of Scandinavian countries I have met, or Vaclav Havel.

[Correspondent] What does Lithuania mean to you, apart from the fact, of course, that it is your homeland?

[Landsbergis] What they used to teach was false. For me, Lithuania is real and genuine. For me it is the basis of life.

[Correspondent] The symbol of Vilnius, the crosses on the hill, was barbarously destroyed half a century ago. By decision of the new legislature, they have been restored. Incidentally, other monuments are threatened today—those in honor of soldiers killed in the war. The traditionally calm Lithuania of Vytautas Landsbergis, while outwardly the same as ever, is full of internal contradictions. Life is like a boomerang. The conflict was previously between Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox; today it is between Lithuanians, Poles, Germans, and Russians. Lithuania was the first to raise the flag of independence, and today Landsbergis already has his own sovereign autonomy—the Polish area. Sajudis was the opponent of the CPSU. The Poles have changed. According to the laws of sovereign Lithuania, the old political institutions are illegal. But fact remains fact. In Lithuania today there are two customs services, two armies, and two security bodies. These are serious political problems. Politics is an art in Landsbergis's blood. His forebears were persecuted for spreading Lithuanian propaganda as long ago as tsarist times. His father entered the undergound anti-Soviet government on the eve of the German occupation. My home is my castle is an old principle. The new one is that true excitement [sajudis] is in the family, within one's circle of friends, and in politics.

Does the whole family get together often?

[Landsbergis] Very rarely—for Christmas, Easter, for a birthday. Pojasina is a musician, a pianist. She teaches in the conservatoire and performs in concerts with vocalists. My daughters are also musicians, musical specialists. One of them gives organ concerts. My son is a literary man. He graduated from the university. He writes and has published booklets of poetry. He is now studying film directing. They all have their own children. As for my forebears, I can remember my grandfathers and grandmothers, of whom I only knew one grandmother personally. My grandfathers died. When I was born, they were no longer alive. But I know about them. I find it interesting to compare their struggle, their activities in those times, with what we are now doing. [end recording]

[Lyubovtsev] If it is no secret, where do you relax? Where do you spend your vacation?

[Landsbergis] I can not remember having a vacation. Admittedly, this summer I had two or three days. After such a trip with speeches, meetings, discussions, I was in Switzerland for the first time. Then a decent chap invited my wife and me to say with him for two days. We could not permit ourselves any longer. Well, that was then. In a quiet place: mountains, beauty. Not too many telephone calls, even though there were some.

[Lyubovtsev] Which object do you dislike the most?

[Landsbergis] An object?

[Lyubovtsev] The telephone?

[Landesbergis] Oh, that type of object. There are such objects: Nonsense in newspapers and stupid things in everyday life.

[Lyubovtsev] Let us try to imagine, jokingly and simply, that you are not Vytautas Landsbergis but, if I correctly translate of course, one Viktor Utesov, a Russian person living in Moscow. What would you like to tell this Russian, one of millions?

[Landsbergis] What I would tell him is this: Vitya, do not give up, do not be depressed, do not lose heart, and do not do loathsome things; everything will be all right.

[Lyubovtsev] That was an interesting report. Was this the first time you saw it?

[Landsbergis] Yes, of course.

[Lyubovtsev] I think that by showing this brief film we have partially answered our television viewers' questions. Some of them asked us to introduce you, to tell about your profession as a musician, about your family, etc.

But I have to confess that this report depicting your image in such pastel tints, in the circles of your family, seems to me to contradict the image of a tough, uncompromising politician which has taken shape in Lithuania... [corrects himself] In the Soviet Union, including in Lithuania. Does it seem like that to you?

[Landsbergis] I do not believe in words like has taken shape. Perhaps someone is creating such an image of a tough politician. It is not like that.

[Lyubovtsev] Of an uncompromising one?

[Landsbergis] Well perhaps, in fundamental matters. But it does not have to have an unfavorable ring.

[Lyubovtsev] Very well. Let us answer some questions. There are indeed very many of them, and I would start with a group of questions devoted to economic problems—to the interrelationship between the Lithuanian

state, proclaimed as independent on 11 March, and the Soviet Union; and to their economic ties.

A lawyer from Odessa Oblast, Aleksey Nikolayevich Smirnov, asks: How do you see the future of the Soviet Union, and will a sovereign Lithuania be part of that new state entity?

Ionas Pranovich Petrauskas, from Vilnius. He asks three questions at once: I closely follow the republican press; a purposeful discreditation of everything Soviet is in progress, the collapse of the Union is being awaited with unconcealed impatience. The young generation is being brought up in such a spirit. What do you believe: Does such a policy meet Lithuania's long-term interests? The second question asked by Ionas Petrauskas: What is preventing the holding of a referendum on the question of the republic leaving the Union? After all, no one has endowed the membership of the parliament with such a mandate. One gains the impression that you are afraid of not getting the required number of votes.

By the way, here are the first notes that have just been received in the course of the broadcast: Mikhail Aleksandrovich Kostelev asks regarding the referendum: Why not hold it? Leonid Afanasyevich Zharov from Orekhovo-Zuyevo [no question as heard], and finally the following question: It is of course not only connected with the economy. Mr. Landsbergis, I think that you will not start disputing that this year's free elections in Lithuania and your election as heard of the republic's Supreme Soviet was a consequence of those changes in the country which were started in April 1985, for which undisputed credit is due to Mikhail Gorbachev. Perestroyka was conceived not as the collapse of the Union but as a renewal, the elimination of artificial structures on (?a basis) in a federal Union. Does it not seem to you that by your unilateral decision on 11 March you have inflicted a serious blow on all progressive entities in the USSR?

And finally the following question by Karpikova, a teacher from Bryansk: Can you regard yourself as a progressive politician if throughout the world there is tendency toward unification, toward federation, toward internationalization, when your specific actions as head of state are leading to confrontation?

We had several notes at once. Could you deal with them?

[Landsbergis] Yes, there were rather a lot of questions. Perhaps you could hand them to me so that I do not forget and muddle them.

[Lyubovtsev] Please, of course. Here they are.

[Landsbergis] We will start the other way round.

[Lyubovtsev] Please go ahead, whatever suits you.

[Landsbergis] That is the order they are in.

[Lyubovtsev] Please go ahead.

[Landsbergis] Comrade Karpilova asks: Can I regard myself as someone? I do not consider myself anybody special. I am simply doing a job and I have obligations. In Lithuania we decided our line quite a while ago—I mean the Sajudis movement, the reform movement aimed at reestablishing an independent Lithuanian state. If we are hearing such talk about the trends toward unification throughout the world, these trends are indeed taking place and they are progressive in nature, where they occur naturally, through self-determination and free choice based on certain concrete prerequisites, and where the people are able to select one path or another they do not choose one that it considers ruinous for themselves. The kind of unification trends we are now seeing in the Near East... [pauses] One can hardly welcome violent trends....

[Lyubovtsev, interrupting] You mean Iraq's aggression against Kuwait?

[Landsbergis] Yes, somebody in Iraq might also call this a progressive trend toward unification of the Arabs or... [pauses] Someone in Kuwait might welcome it, but this is not the point. The point is, as I was saying, that the kind of unification we have now, the treaties with Latvia and Estonia, the creation of a political coordination structure in the form of the Baltic State Council, are of our own choosing and are our own path. The Latvians do not come here in tanks and are not imposing this unification upon us. It is a progressive trend, not violent unification.

How do I see the USSR's future? It is difficult to say as yet what will happen to the former USSR. It—the state, that is—has not passed the test of history. One may guess as to why—because it was founded on false pretenses, and even more so on violence. This never lasts for long. But will sovereign Lithuania be part of the new state formation? One might simply say that we will see. In other words, on the basis of what we are seeing now there is no desire to join the Soviet Union as its exists today. I think that a very small proportion of the population, the citizens of Lithuania, would be in favor of joining the Soviet Union. But if in its place some kind of East European community arises with which one could join up politically, in some sense this is something for the future. There is not much point in reading the tea leaves on this one. Here is my fellow countryman from Vilnius, Petrauskas.

[Lyubovtsev] [words indistinct] question.

[Landsbergis] It is not a question. It is simply about how he sees everything. I am not going to argue with him because he sees everything in a distorting mirror.

So is such a policy in tune with Lithuania's long-term interests? Well, once again this question contains a contention, the contention that everything Soviet is being discredited and the collapse of the Union is expected. Whether the Union does or does not collapse, and whether the Union really will be restructured into something completely new is, as I said earlier, a matter

for the future. We will see. But as to great changes lying ahead, this is a fact and the whole world can see it—that what existed will not exist any more. This is not some kind of arrogant attitude, it is just... [pauses] He says this is the way we are bringing up the young generation. I think the young generation is always quite independent, and if it is able to take a critical view, perhaps of us also, and of the surrounding part of the world and the Soviet Union, then let them grow up into a thinking and responsible generation that will then perform great feats.

[Lyubovtsev] Forgive me for interrupting you for a moment. He writes here, as far as I remember, about regular articles in the Lithuanian press that are educating young people in precisely such a way—in an anti-Soviet spirit. There is a very great deal of materal in the press that is not only sharply critical but even insulting in nature, and I imagine you will not dispute this. Last April, for instance, I was in Lithuania and saw some simply insulting caricatures, remarks, and speeches, and these then incidentally migrate onto the banners raised by certain groups of demonstrators. You probably would not dispute this.

[Landsbergis] These terms, like anti-Soviet, are already a thing of the past.

[Lyubovtsev] Right, but the essence of the matter—anti-Russian?

[Landsbergis] All the more so, all the more so. I cannot agree with you that some kind of anti-Russian campaign is going on in Lithuania. But as for the past decades being assessed very critically, I think that one can find in the Soviet press more and worse assessments of all this. [word indistinct] is nothing special.

[Lyubovtsev] Yes, well one can find anything in the press, of course, and in the Moscow press too. But I myself have seen attacks that are genuinely insulting for Russians. I am not going to quote them now, but they are along the lines of hang them, drive out the migrants.

[Landsbergis] Where, in the papers?

[Lyubovtsev] In the papers, yes.

[Landsbergis] And were they hanged?

[Lyubovtsev] Well, at any rate cartoons showing gallows are cropping up in various papers. These may be small papers, but this is happening.

[Landsbergis] You know, if one were to chase after every little newspaper and check them for anything... [changes thought] We have always spoken and fought against insulting other peoples, other nations, and I do not consider such reproaches rightful, particularly regarding caricatures. If you look through the world press there are so many cartoons about the Soviet Union, the changes and personalities. They simply have different standards in the West while the Soviet Union has simply never had... [pauses] it was unthinkable to produce caricatures of Brezhnev or to draw him somewhere in the press.

[Lyubovtsev] Are there carictatures of you?

[Landsbergis] Of course.

[Lyubovtsev] And that does not worry you?

[Landsbergis] Of course not.

[Lyubovtsev] But they are not very scathing?

[Landsbergis] There are scathing ones too, and unjust ones, but what can you do? [laughs]

[Lyubovtsev] So in this respect your government and supreme soviet do not control, or rather do not supervise the Lithuanian press.

[Landsbergis] No.

[Lyubovtsev] Sorry, we have got sidetracked, and there are still a number of questions here.

[Landsbergis] What prevents a referendum being held in Lithuania?

[Lyubovtsev] Yes, there are very many questions to that effect. Why was it not conducted prior to the proclamation of the act of independence of the Lithuanian (?state)?

[Landsbergis] Because we did not consider this to be indispensable or necessary. We have already had such referendums, so to speak, collections of over 1.5 millions signatures, signatures demanding the withdrawl of Soviet troops, to return Lithuania's independence—people were signing them out of fear, listing their address and surname. As recently as a year ago they had to decide to do this. We went to the elections with an open program. We discussed with the voters what we were going to do, what we were striving for, and we had a full mandate to vote, to put to the vote the acts restoring independence which were passed on 11 March of this year. What prevents referendums from being held in the Soviet Union on socialism or on trust in the government? Such questions can be asked. I can also ask many questions. Is it that the government is afraid of holding a referendum?

[Lyubovtsev] Today you have, unfortunately, a more difficult role: Answering questions from television viewers, and also my questions to a certain extent.

[Landsbergis] Yes; that the free elections were a consequence of the changes that started back in April, etc, and the credit due to Mikhail Gorbachev.

[Lyubovtsev] Some more questions have come in. What is your attitude to the president, to Mikhail Sergeyevich, having been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize? Could you perhaps deal with that at the same time?

[Landsbergis] I have congratulated President Gorbachev on his award. I have had the opportunity to answer this question many times to correspondents from various countries. He is indeed due great credit for the fact that there now is less international tension in the world. The danger of an all-destroying war has lessened. What is

taking place is not so much a solving [razvyazka] of problems—there is still a long way to go before that is achieved—but an easing [smyagcheniye] of tension in Europe. I have had the opportunity to express myself as follows: I would have conferred this prize after the settlement of our problems, after the confirmation of Lithuania's independence [passage indistinct] of course. But it can also be given in advance.

[Lyubovtsev] Well, as I understand it, this is a prize not for settling relations between Moscow and Vilnius, but simply for a contribution to international (?detente).

[Landsbergis] You understand that the settling of relations between Moscow and Vilnius, that is to say the recognition of the right and the self-determination of the Lithuanian people until this day, and the need to restore justice that has been trampled on is also a part of this process. The process cannot come to a halt. If the process comes to a halt it will be very dangerous. It must continue, and for this reason this question is wrong: As if halting this process would be suport for the reforms. On the contrary, it would be a blow against the reforms.

Here we go again with a referendem, a referendum, a referendum.

In connection with separation: The question is also very often posed incorrectly: About separation, about leaving. These formulas are stubbornly being foisted upon us. In a legal sense we never joined the Soviet Union, just as Kuwait is not joining Iraq. The procedure was very similar, only more time has elapsed. Somehow people have got accustomed to this, not recognizing our annexation; they see that they are living there somehow—let them live. But once we decided nevertheless to change the situation and restore an independent state, this is already our business.

[Lyubovtsev] Excuse me, Mr. Landsbergis, I have to object. You are citing this parallel for the second time between Iraq and Kuwait with 1940. Nevertheless, a Seimas of the Lithuanian people took place which made a decision and proclaimed Soviet Lithuania and made the decision and sent a delegation to Moscow wilth the request to accept Lithuania as part of the Soviet Union. Nothing of the kind has now taken place in the Persian Gulf, so this is somewhat stretching the point. You must agree.

[Landsbergis] I think this would not be difficult for the Iraqi president to do: To appoint 40 or 50 people there who would request Kuwait's being accepted as a part of Iraq. This is a very simple procedure. There were also people who requested Iraq's intervention, just as there were people in 1968 who requested intervention in Czechoslovakia's affairs. One can always find such people.

[Lyubovtsev] So the viewers will not accuse us of getting preoccupied with the problems of the Gulf, let us return to Lithuania. Here are some questions which have just come in. Viktor Anatolyevich Nabatov from Leningrad: What would the government of Lithuania think if Russia declares its secession from the USSR? There is also a question, by the way, asking about your attitude to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. If Lithuania does secede from the Soviet Union, asks your colleague Arbenin, a lecturer at the Leningrad conservatoire, can I come from Leningrad to Vilnius or other towns in Lithuania to work? What will be required for this? Here is a question from Aleksandr Petrovich Grachev, from Moscow: Is the situation possible whereby Lithuania would once again wish to join the Soviet Union? Over to you.

[Landsbergis] Well, what do I think of the last question? For Lithuania to wish to join such a Soviet Union as has existed for the last 50 years is something which I think is not possible. Such miracles do not happen. But as far as some new state formations in Central and East Europe are concerned, that is something for the future. Now, concerning my colleague from Leningrad.

[Lyubovtsev] Yes, and you know, this afternoon we have already had a mass of notes from Kaliningrad and Kaliningrad oblast asking whether the residents of this Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Oblast can come to Lithuania or travel through Lithuania, and so on, what conditions will exist for visiting Lithuania for residents of Kaliningrad. This seems to chime in with....

[Landsbergis, interrupting] Yes, well of course how could they not come? We are in favor of having the best possible contacts. As far as work in Lithuania for our Leningrad colleague is concerned, it is necessary for the job to exist. I see no obstacles, and in the independent Lithuania of 1918-40 there were quite a lot of Russians, including intellectuals, who worked in the conservatoire itself and in the university in various fields; nobody insulted them, nobody encroached on them or drove them out of Lithuania, and there is no reason today for the Russian population of Lithuania to be frightened by stories that they are bound to be treated badly. As for the residents of Kaliningrad Oblast, then you know that at the moment various problems are arising in republics of the Soviet Union, in Russia and Belorussia, in connection with inequalities in prices and guarantees for the market. There exist certain restrictions on transportation of goods. Certain restrictive measures are also being adopted in the Baltic countries which are not supposed to affect ordinary citizens and will not affect them, but citizens who convey some large quantity of goods could be affected. So checks are being carried out, and will be made, and there are restrictions on account of this. As you can understand, we could have a lot of people arriving and buying everything, and we would have no way of maintaining supplies of goods. So it is only in this that I see any problem if Kaliningrad residents, if Kaliningrad Oblast cannot look after their own supplies or get supplies from the RSFSR somehow, and if they depend only on Lithuania. Then it is not so simple.

[Lyubovtsev] Good. Let us continue with questions connected with the economy. Anatoliy Nikolayevich Orlov from Moscow asks: How do you intend to buy out

enterprises under Union control? You have quite a few of them. Valeriy Kovalenko, a cooperative member from Palanga, has three questions together: Everyone knows that the economy of Lithuania is closely tied up with that of the Union as a whole. What is going to happen to Lithuania's economy, how will it develop in future when the republic introduces its own currency? Second, what sense is their in establishing an economic border without actually protecting our economic posts on the roads? If the republic does not ensure that the state border is guarded, then the posts can easily be avoided. Third, the same cooperative member, Kovalenko, asks: No matter how Lithuania's joining the Union in 1940 is presented, one thing is clear beyond doubt—the secession from the Union will have to be carried out in accordance with the law. Well, that is the theme you were talking about, the economy. Do go on.

[Landsbergis] Yes, the question of how will you proceed in tackling economic problems and the problem of contacts with the Soviet Union is posed very often. To a very large extent this will depend on the attitude of the Soviet Union—that is to say of its leadership—toward an independent Lithuania. To put it frankly, if this attitude is to be malicious and vindictive then what can we do? If existing links are broken, if pressure is exerted on us by means of a new official or unofficial blockade... [pauses] all of this is possible and we are, spiritually at least, prepared for this. But there is a chance that matters will not necessarily develop in this way. What we produce is needed by the Soviet Union. We propose a restructuring, specifically of economic relations in this respect, in respect of clearing or some other sort of economic and trading relations, or with calculations according to a type of system which can be agreed upon so that cooperation, co-production, and trade can continue and develop on a sounder basis than the previous centralization.

[Lyubovtsov] I see, but may I put one more question to you on the subject of those same economic links: Would it not be better, as many people maintain—among them Vilkas, the economist and Lithuanian academician whom you know—that first of all the economic attitude toward the Union, the relationship with the center should be agreed, and only then should political independence be declared. Did you know that he even compared that act—the night-time vote in the legislature—to Lithuania jumping naked into nettles. Would it not vhave been better to get dressed first?

[Landsbergis] He was probably not talking of the night-time vote because he was himself present, and he knows that it is a sort of myth about this night-time vote. We voted in the afternoon.

[Lyubovtsev] Very good, thank you.

[Landsbergis] On the subject of which processes should have been given priority—economic or political independence—we both discussed this for two whole years prior to March, and we also tried it, reaching the following conclusion: that attempts to attain economic independence are blockaded by the central departments and by the government led by Comrade Ryzhkov. It does not work out. Even the law on the economic independence of the Baltic republics, which was arrived at with such difficulty, was similarly spoiled at the end, and then interpreted once again in such a way as to benefit the center rather than being real restructuring and giving real independence. The fact of the matter therefore is that the Soviet Union is simply not going to change itself, and this has hastened thoughts that it is necessary to opt for decisive political solutions and then, based on these, build our country's entire future.

[Lyubovtsev] Thank you. I have to... [pauses] Excuse me, but I must ask you, and myself, to be brief because the minute hand is moving very fast. Among the questions that have come in, fifteen if not more concern territorial problems. Nestor Grigoryevich Marchuk, a teacher from Moscow, asks: What do you think about the decision of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet on the restoration of this republic within the borders of 1940? If you consider that the process of Lithuania's inclusion in the USSR was an act of violence and hence unjustifiable, then is not Belorussia's demand a just one since territory was taken away from it in Lithuania's favor without taking the opinion of the Belorussian people into account? Mukhin, from Kostroma, asks: If Lithuania secedes from the USSR, will the Klaipeda region become part of the RSFSR and Svencionys rayon part of Belorussia? Krylov, a pensioner from Moscow, asks you to justify your stand on these territorial issues. Vladimir Ivanovich Klimakov: The 1938 constitution has had an effect on your territory. Do you intend to limit your territory to the territory which existed in 1938? Carry on.

[Landsbergis] People are getting a lot of things confused, even concerning this constitution of 1938. It is not a constitution with effect in Lithuania. We suspended it as soon as we restored Lithuania, and we brought in our current provisional constitution purely for clearness in legal procedure. We are not creating a new state, but we are continuing the life of the independent Lithuanian Republic which was occupied and annexed in 1940. That illegal action does not make any changes to the law, and we are continuing the existence of this state on new principles and under new laws, but nevertheless this point of linkage was there.

[Lyubovtsev] And the territories?

[Landsbergis] The territories. The territory of Lithuania in the East is a problem with a number of levels, beginning with the peace treaty with Soviet Russia, that is with the Soviet Union of that time in 1920. Then there were various lines of demarcation there, sometimes considered as borders, but this border was always the sole legal border. The fact that Soviet troops entered in 1939 did not make even a handful of earth there more Russian or Belorussian, even the fact that they were there for several weeks. Then part of this territory was handed over to Lithuania--not all according to the 1920

treaty, but approximately one third of this territory. Then certain territories, purely Lithuanian ethnically, were added. Certain others were also put down for attachment to Lithuania, but nevertheless stayed in Belorussia. I only recall this in order to show that it is not as simple as proclaimed there, eternally Belorussian lands which someone—the Soviet Union—has taken from Belorussia; this is even preposterous, some kind of political game, a double game. The Soviet Union is playing it, using Belorussia.

[Lyubovtsev] You are, so to speak, denying the sovereign wishes and votes in the Minsk parliament?

[Landsbergis] Well, you understand that it is possible to vote in some parliament and make claims to territory of another state. That is it, so to speak, part....

[Lyubovtsev, interrupting] No, I am just saying that the center should not be blamed for everything. I think that this was the wish of the Belorussians, to express their sentiments in this way, at any rate, and as far as Klaipeda is concerned, formerly the German Memel....

[Landsbergis, interrupting] I might also remind you, since you are saying that we should not blame the center, that some very wise words stemmed from the center in April. Mikhail Sergeyevich said at the Komsomol Congress that the borders within the Soviet Union must not be altered in any way, and that if we were to do so anywhere, changes would ensue throughout the Soviet Union and all nations and ethnic groups would clash with one another. Unfortuantely that may be what was said, but matters actually took precisely the opposite course. Either Mikhail Sergeyevich is not in charge of the process or there are occasions when words and deeds part company. I think that we will reach agreement with the Belorussians, and without hostility. We stand by the principle of Helsinki. As you know, this is noted in our act establishing the independence of the Lithuanian Republic.

As for Klaipeda, there are no legal grounds for Soviet claims there, and the policy of the Soviet Union can be represented in a very unattractive light if it really were to lead anywhere since the Klaipeda area was recognized as belonging to Lithuania by the authorized international body. After the first world war it was taken away from Germany as an ethnically Lithuanian territory, and in 1924 it became part of Lithuania as a sovereign part of the Lithuanian Republic. The fact that Hitler wrested away this piece of Lithuania before the war with the Soviet Union does not alter the matter, just as nothing is altered by Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia's Sudentenland or the annexation of Austria. If the Soviet Union does wish to attribute some kind of legal significance to this seizure....

[Lyubovtsev, interrupting] I do not think there are any official statements about it; it is just that viewers have asked, to start with....

[Landsbergis, interrupting] Yes, but there have been such statements, and from official sources, so that it is all rather strange.

[Lyubovtsev] Sometimes people ask this question in Klaipeda, too. I have had occasion to be there. Approximately 40 percent of the population is Russian-speaking, and these people are rather concerned, so to speak, as to what is to become of them and therefore, perhaps....

[Landsbergis, interrupting] Someone has put that idea into their heads.

[Lyubovtsev] Okay, Mr. Landsbergis. Here are some more questions. I have already told you that a lot of the questions are quite specific. What Petrauskas, a worker from Vilnius, asks, was the salary of Astrauskas, the former chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, and what is your own? That is the first. Second, (Sutkiene), who lives in Vilnius, says that government dachas are situated in Vilnius' attractive suburb of Turnishkes. These have been allocated to deputies and state civil servants. Would it not have been more democratic to hand them over to families with many children who live in the slums, etc? Please.

[Landsbergis] As for the dachas, yes there are small dacha-type houses and apartments there that were previously used by the republican authorities who had a sort of second home, a second residence there. We had a problem with accomodation for the deputies because, as you know, parliament is now constantly at work. It is no longer as it used to be a matter of travelling in, voting, and going away again. They are now working permanently in Vilnius and they and their families—the deputies I mean—must live somewhere. For a long time... [changes thought] Well, I am from Vilnius myuself so it does not affect me, but many of the deputies from all over Lithuania lived in hotels in abnormal conditions, with their families somewhere else. Moreover, hotels are very expensive, and government premises were standing empty. So in the end, although there were some doubts... [changes thought] We will get a lot of criticism for this. All kinds of rumors will be spread. But what could we do?

We have put some of the deputies there and some in a new apartment block that is organized as a hotel for the deputies. We are solving these problems. What can we do?

[Lyubovtsev] And the question about salaries?

[Landsbergis] As for salaries, I do not know what the salary of the former chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic was, how much he received officially, and how much under the counter. It never interested me.

[Lyubovtsev] Fine. There are a great many questions—and this comes as no surprise—which have to do with the Russian-speaking population in Lithuania. They are concerned about their fate. War veterans are worried as to whether they will continue to receive their pensions and benefits which are in force throughout the territory

of the Union, or whether all this will be revoked. Tatyana Aleksandrovna Utkina, from Vilnius, asks how to explain the fact that despite the law on the state language, which stipulates the use of bilingualism, the mayor of Kaunas has adopted a decision to exclude Russian from daily use. The local amenities services in Kaunas are now engaged in removing street names in Russian, etc., instead of getting the town ready for winter. The same is happening in Vilnius.

[Landsbergis] Well, I cannot say that she is correct in what she writes about what follows from the law on the state language of Lithuania, that it includes some kind of state bilingualism. It does not. Someone has suggested asking this question in the wrong way. Essentially it is not so important. As for pensions, that really is a vitally important problem. We dealt with it at consultative meetings with a delegation from the Soviet Union, and things moved very quickly. I proposed finding a way of transferring this money into Lithuanian banks. If Soviet veterns of the Fatherland War who live somwhere outside the Soviet Union should receive pensions and bonuses on those pensions, the surest way of transferring them is to... [changes thought] they have done it. It is just that a good agreement is being wrongly used for some kind of political propaganda by insisting on the inclusion of "throughout the Soviet Union." These are unnecessary word games.

[Lyubovtsev] Mr. Landsbergis, I am reminded that we have only three of three and one half minutes left, and we still have an enormous number of questions. Questions are asked in particular about Article 62 of the Criminal Code adopted by the Lithuanian legislature, which stipulates harsh punishment up to and including the death penalty for violating the law on political parties.

[Landsbergis] No, I am sure someone has gotten mixed up, very mixed up.

[Lyubovtsev] Chestnoviy, from Vilnius, asks the question.

[Landsbergis] There is a law on political parties, that is true, and there are articles in the Criminal Code which also refer to crimes against the state, but they are different things.

[Lyubovtsev] How do you, the chairman of the Supreme Council of Lithuania, look upon the decree on political parties under which the Communist Party of Lithuania [CPL]-CPSU is outlawed as the party of a foreign state? This is asked by Mukhin, a worker at the Klaipeda fishing port.

[Landsbergis] Well, I think it is perfectly normal that Lithuania as a sovereign state should adopt its own laws and should be able to permit or ban the activity of some political parties which are run from other countries. I doubt that any states in the world would allow such party activity to take place officially and legally, and this party... [changes thought] We are not persecuting it, so to speak, or breaking it up, but the law decrees that it should make itself legal in some way if it wishes so that it does not act outside the law.

[Lyubovtsev] So how do you react to the fact that while this question remains as it were in the air, Communists are already being subjected to cut-backs or dismissals from work, or that there are even demands in the press for them to be run out of universities and schools, and this moreover extends not only to the CPL-CPSU but to Comrade Brazauskas' Independent CPSU?

[Landsbergis] I am sure you did not mean to say the Independent CPSU. [laughter]

[Lyubovtsev] The Independent CPL, I meant. I am sorry.

[Landsbergis] That is right. Well you know, something might have been written in the papers again. I cannot comment on that. We live according to the laws, and certain areas of state life have been indicated which should be depoliticized, and this affects above all the members of the Communist Party because, as you are aware, according to the old order, practically any slightly more eminent or responsible civil servant had to be a member of the party. Now they either need to leave the party if they want to be judges or to work in the procuracy or the Ministry of Internal Affairs. These bodies should be depoliticized, so this is nothing new, and I do not regard this as persecution specifically of Communists. We have other parties too, and membership of other parties is similarly not envisaged, so that there cannot even be any suspicions that an office, particularly in such responsible places, could be exploited for party ends.

[Lyubovtsev] Thank you. Why do you think some former leaders of Sajudis are now leaving the movement?

[Landsbergis] That is another of those questions. It is just that some leaders have left. Some have been excluded as deputies. I too can regard myself as a member of Sajudis, but I cannot be a member of any of the ruling bodies of the movement. This was decided at the second Sajudis congress. Changes do take place. People do change their views too, take up stances. I do not see anything unnatural in these processes.

[Lyubovtsev] Thank you. I still have not asked you a great many questions. I am being warned that our time on the air is already at an end, unfortunately. It is a shame because I think a lot of viewers are going to be cross with us for not having had time to answer their questions. Thank you, Mr. Landsbergis. Thank you, esteemed viewers, for your active participation in the program.

Allow me to conclude our "Who is Who" program. Good-bye until next time.

Landsbergis Receives Polish-Lithuanian Farmers

LD2910110790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] As we reported earlier, nearly 100 Lithuanian farmers from the rural districts [in Poland] of Suvalkai, Punsk, and other neighboring areas have arrived in Vilnius following an invitation by the Agricultural Workers' Movement. Romas Vitkauskas, chief of the Punsk Rural District, heads the delegation.

The visitors have already met with a group of Lithuanian Supreme Council deputies. They were received by Deputy Supreme Council Chairman Bronius Kuzmickas and Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene. Today, the Lithuanian farmers were received by Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis.

Agricultural problems of Polish Lithuanians and the prospects for exchanges of experts were discussed in the course of the conversation. It was agreed that contacts between farmers of the two republics should be closer. Moreover, this will be served by Vytautas Landsbergis' intention to visit Lithuanians residing in Poland.

Prunskiene Sends Letter of Complaint to Ryzhkov

LD2910231590 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] The Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimera Prunskiene has sent a letter to the Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov. The message says that the decree of the Soviet Council of Ministers on reforming Lithuania-located enterprises of all-Union subordination into joint stock companies runs counter to laws of the Republic of Lithuania and has no legal validity on this territory. The decision of the Soviet Government is defined as yet another attempt by the Soviet Union to intefere into the economy of Lithuania. The Lithuanian Government sees the Moscow decree as withdrawal from its previous intentions to start negotiations with Lithuania where similar problems were due to come up for discussion already at the end of November.

Lithuania's Brazauskas Holds News Conference

LD2910235390 Moscow TASS in English 2206 GMT 29 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius October 30 TASS—Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Algirdas Brazauskas has pointed out the importance of the establishment of new economic relations with the republics of the Soviet Union.

Speaking at a news conference here on Monday, he noted that the "acceleration of privatisation" should become the main level of the economic reform. He said in the current conditions it is very important to give preference to the development of production branches basing on local raw materials and other resources.

Economic relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union will be based mainly on trade, Brazauskas said.

Lithuanian Material Resources Minister Romuald Kozyrovich told the news conference that "it is impossible to imagine Lithuanian industry without Soviet raw materials". At the same time, he noted that relations between Lithuania and the "centre" and other republics should be considerably transformed, and usual "distribution" and "apportionment" relations and similar principles should be replaced by "direct relations and ties" and "mutually advantageous trade".

Asked about the essence of the Soviet Government's decision, published late last week, on the reorganisation of Union enterprises on Lithuanian territory into joint-stock companies, Brazauskas said the decision "contradicted Lithuanian and Soviet laws".

"Lithuania is preparing for introducing its own money," Brazauskas said, noting that this is the question of time.

Brazauskas, who is also independent Lithuanian Communist Party leader, said the party congress will be held in the beginning of December. He said the party is expected to change its ideological and organisational direction and will be renamed. He said that after the congress, the independent Lithuanian Communist Party will possibly become a party of social-democratic orientation.

On Trade Links With USSR

LD3010113190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] The economic links between Lithuania and the Soviet Union will be based primarily on trade, Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Brazauskas said at a news conference in Vilnius. He told journalists that Lithuania would buy raw and other materials and sell its products and goods. He stressed that trade relations would be directed both toward the East and West. Brazauskas, who is also first secretary of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, said that its congress should take place at the beginning of December. He reported that it is planned to change the ideological and organizational direction of the Party and to rename it. After the congress the independent Lithuanian Communist Party will, it appears, become a party of social-democratic orientation.

France Sets Terms for Return of Lithuanian Gold

LD2910002190 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] The Bank of France has said it is ready to return the 2,200 kilograms of gold that Lithuania deposited on the eve of World War Two if Lithuania determines the lawful representative and heir of its own bank. No official inquiry has been made so far. A Bank of France representative said the gold must be returned to its lawful owner, but the situation must be made quite clear first.

Lithuanian Members of Work Group Leave for Moscow

LD2910101790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Romualdas Ozolas and other republic representatives left Vilnius for Moscow this evening to take part in the joint Lithuanian-USSR work group meeting.

The joint work group, which is headed by Romualdas Ozolas and Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, plans tomorrow to examine questions pertaining to the protocol for starting bilateral negotiations.

As already known, during the second consultational meeting between the USSR and Lithuania on 20 October, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov proposed that the aforementioned meeting be considered the start of negotiations.

However, the Lithuanian Delegation headed by Republic Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis demanded that an appropriate protocol be signed before the start of negotiations.

The joint work group was tasked with preparing just such a document within 10 days.

As stated by the delegations, official negotiations should begin during the third 10-day period in November.

'Undemocratic' Lithuanian Party Law Protested

PM2910170790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Letter from historian V. Vasilyauskas in Vilnius under the rubric "Opening the Mail": "Legalized Lawlessness"]

[Text] The Law on Political Parties adopted in Lithuania is undemocratic. Members of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) in the republic can be punished for working in their party. Recently there were over 200,000 such people in Lithuania. Many have been unable to withstand the pressure from demagogues and have quit the party. However, many also remain—over 40,000. Considerably more people regard themselves as Communists, but because of certain circumstances cannot publicly state this. The legislative exclusion of members of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) from society shames the late 20th century. Unfortunately it shames my motherland—Lithuania.

In order to counter this barbaric law somehow, I propose not only passively condemning it, as unfortunately often happens, but actively combating it. A special public committee, patterned on the actions of Western fighters for human rights, could be created and a special solidarity card that every protestor could purchase could be published. The revenue from the event could be placed in a special fund used to support the CPSU in Lithuania and to aid Communists who have lost their jobs because of their convictions, and also their families.

It has to be realized that unless we collectively rebuff this today, tomorrow a similar fate may also befall representatives of other left-wing forces. We must learn lessons from history....

[Signed] Historian V. Vasilyauskas, Vilnius

Lithuanian Government Examines Agrarian Reform

LD2710015190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] A meeting to discuss the program of agrarian reform was held today at the palace of the Lithuanian Government in Vilnius. It was attended by representatives of the state, agriculture, and public organizations and movements. The meeting was chaired by the Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene.

In discussing drafts of agrarian reform prepared by the ministries of agriculture and economy, many contradicting proposals and remarks were made and problems were raised. It was stressed that consistently implementing agrarian reform as a component part of the Lithuanian economic reform would serve the regeneration of people in the countryside and at the same time the regeneration of all of Lithuania.

It is essential at each stage to define concrete aims and tasks, carefully regulate and implement the processes of progress. But this must not reduce the present level of production of agricultural products and raw materials.

Problems on social guarantees, property, land probatization and others were also discussed.

Lithuanian Komsomol Meets, Plans Name Change

LD2610204290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1407 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 26 Oct (TASS)—A Congress of the Lithuanian Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League], or more accurately of that part of it which after the split in the republican Komsomol organization came out in favor of independence and effectively severed ties with komsomol, began work here today.

The congress will last two or three days, but it is already possible to say that the young people who have assembled for a "Komsomol congress" will apparently, once it has finished, go home from the congress of the "Forum of Lithuanian Youth" [forum molodezhi litvy]. In April this year a referendum of Komsomol members was organized, and 92 percent of those who took part supported the need to rename the organization. More than 60 percent preferred the name the Forum of Lithuanian Youth, so all that now remains is to confirm that choice.

The congress intends to make the appropriate amendments to the program and charter of the youth organization and to elect its leading bodies, a Council of the Forum of Lithuanian Youth, a chairman, and deputy.

Congress of Estonian Citizens Concludes Session

LD2910101890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 28 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Moloveryan]

[Excerpts] Tallinn, 28 Oct (TASS)—The third session of the Congress of Estonian Citizens has ended. [passage omitted]

Congress delegates failed to elaborate and adopt a political declaration, one of the basic documents on the agenda. Long before the discussion of it began there were speeches on the political and economic situation in the republic with reproaches against the current Estonian government and Edgar Savisaar who heads it. By the time discussion of the draft political declaration began, passions were extremely heated and the most radical delegates began to demand a vote of no-confidence in the government on the grounds that it has failed to justify the hopes placed in it.

Congress delegates who are deputies to the republic's Supreme Soviet spoke against discussing this issue. It was there general opinion that removing the government would inevitably mean putting the breaks on all social processes and would also have a negative effect on establishing contacts with the West and on talks on granting independence to Estonia. The discussion became so sharp that delegates who are members of the People's Front—and E. Savisaar, the head of government is one of the leaders of the Estonian People's Front—had to walk out in protest. Only the real threat that their absence would leave the congress inquorate and without power forced the supporters of a vote of no-confidence to withdraw.

The issue was removed from the agenda and a new Estonian committee of which T. Kelam, a well-known supporter of restoring the bourgeois Estonian Republic in law and in fact, was again elected chairman, was instructed to formulate a final version of the political declaration.

CPSU's Shenin Talks With Estonian Factions

PM2910112190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent I. Teterin: "Split Impermissible"]

[Text] Tallinn—Many topical questions were raised during the trip to Estonia by O.S. Shenin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Over the past two days he has met with the secretaries of primary party organizations and the first secretaries of Estonian Communist Party city committees and rayon committees. Meetings were also held with the secretaries and bureau members of the two Estonian Communist Party Central Committees that currently exist.

Essentially O.S. Shenin was acting as political moderator in a dialogue between Estonia's Communists. This dialogue is particularly valuable now that the time has come to stage the 21st Estonian Communist Party congress. What will the forthcoming forum of the republic's Communists lead to—a complete split or unification? That is the question for the Estonian Communist Party, as Hamlet might have said.

Estonian Party Congress Called for 15 Dec

LD2910212690 Tallin Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1900 GMT 22 Oct 90

[Text] The press service of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee announces that the Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined proposals from party organizations, town and district committees, and rayon committees on convening a party congress and considers it opportune to convene the Communist Party of Estonia 21st Congress on 15-16 December of this year. The Bureau will present this proposal for endorsement by the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee plenum on 2 November.

Effects of Estonian Price Increases Noted

914D0021A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Oct 90 p 2

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent G. Sapozhnikova: "They Cut the Meat in the Morning"]

[Text] **As of 15 October it is the hungry man paying double in Estonia, not the miser.**

"Now I am going to boil some kasha for you," the mother said firmly to her son, and resolutely stepped over to the meat department. The thin ranks of milk bottles at 72 kopeks responded with a proud silence. Cream—a small carton—was R1 [ruble], kefir was 47 kopeks, and majestic layers of farm butter grinned at R7 per kilogram.

For some reason everyone believed that on 15 October, the moment that state subsidies on meat, milk, and bread products were abolished, communism would dawn in Estonia—that is abundance. The logic was simple: The prices will become ridiculously high, all citizens will markedly reduce consumption, and the shelves will be full to breaking. But in the meantime the starving citizens are, as before, amiably standing in line and buying up everything in sight! The Estonian shock therapy is not working; there is almost nothing in the stores, even at the new prices. We almost have to sympathize with our unhappy colleagues on the television: They still need shots of children crying from hunger and old women counting kopeks frozen in terror in front of meat and sausage shops that are full and free of lines. Alas.

However, time will still tell. We will begin to cry in about two weeks when all the reserves of the past heavenly life in the refrigerators run out.

Public food services have suffered doubly in Estonia. A month ago extra charges were increased at the instruction of the Tallinn City Soviet: By 20 to 40 percent in the workers' dining rooms, and up to 200 percent in other restaurants for dishes provided by firms!

Here is a report presented by the Estonian department of prices. Since 15 October 1990 retail prices have increased by an average factor of:

Meat and sausages—2.4
Milk and dairy products—2.7
Ice cream—1.8
Mayonnaise—1.6
Margarine—1.7
Flour and cereals—2.8
Bakery goods—2.3
Cooked foods—1.8
Pasta products—2.5
Food concentrates—1.6

By comparison, the prices on all fish products, including those that are not produced in Estonia and do not swim in the Baltic, were raised by a factor of 2.5 in advance.

Meat products are a special instance. The prices for the very same beef, for instance, are now fluctuating in a range of R1 to R10 per kilogram. Pork runs R1 to R6.3. It means that at the very least one has to be not a meat cutter but a jeweler in order to qualify to cut the three types of first class meat as well as the three types of fourth class meat from each animal. Of course in our country everything is the same as in the West: Various cuts of meat are arranged appealingly on the shelf. But even my completely amateurish glance at the meat shelves of one Tallinn department store told me that Valentin the meat cutter is a very socialist meat cutter. He attended the four classes at the meat plant in vain. He can slip such a bone into a prime cut that it immediately becomes clear that a Soviet meat cutter was working.

On the shop wall pictures hang in small frames: Fattened cows gracefully ornamented with little arrows. These are new diagrams for cutting up the carcass. But to do this in stores on wooden counters with blunt axes in violation of all the instructions of the medical hygiene station is unthinkable!

Well, never mind that for 50 years they have been cutting meat here like cabbage in a washtub. We will sharpen the axes and learn how to cut. The main thing is to ensure that it is good for the people. All day yesterday the ethnic communities behaved surprisingly politely to one another. They stopped, talked, and asked sympathetically "How are you? Are you making ends meet?" We seem to have returned to humanity and sincerity....

On 14 October in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA the information center for journalism published the results of its latest poll on the subject "The Increase in Prices and Ethnic Characteristics." It turns out that 50 percent of Estonians uniformly support the idea of raising prices, while 65 percent of non-Estonians are against. The issue here, as Andrus Saar, director of the information center for journalism, explains, is not that the majority of the Russian-speaking population of Estonia live in the cities and do not have relatives in the countryside as opposed to the Estonians. The issue is a matter of "'Russian latitude and generosity,' the reverse side of which is an unwillingness and inability to save—by comparison, for example, with the Estonians. It is possible that these characteristics are a virtue. But under the new economic conditions we live in, they threaten to turn into a problem."

But there is something else that will more likely turn into a problem: Industrial enterprises that are looking for assets to raise wages or "compensate" their workers will begin and already are beginning to raise prices for their own products and services. For example the railway workers, having justifiably decided that a Moscow subsidy is all the more useful to them now, abolished privileges on the ride aboard the local electric trains and raised prices by a factor of three for loading and unloading operations.

Lina Vladimirovna Ostrovskaya, an official with the self-service store located beside our correspondent's office, told me that the first day after the increase in prices customers stole two packets of cream. Now probably every food store in the republic is going to need not only a qualified meat cutter but also a militiaman and a dog.

Pro-Moscow Latvians To Mark 7 Nov Anniversary

LD2710134790 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Announcements of representatives of the pro-Soviet political forces in Latvia show they are resolute to make use of the celebrations of the Russian Revolution anniversary on 7th November to destabilize political situation. Latvian parliament has recently replaced Soviet holidays with official holidays of its own. The anniversary of the Russian Revolution has been dropped from the list; that is, the 7th November becoming a working day.

Moscow (?faithful) Communist Party has called on workers in the manufacturing industry not to work on that day. Communists are making use of this still existing influence in the large industrial enterprises with mainly Russian and Belorussian workers. Soviet Baltic Military Command has decided to go on with the military parade in Riga on 7th November, thus ignoring Latvian parliament decision.

Pro-Soviet political groups have decided to hold a manifestation in front of the Latvian parliament building on that day. Latvian parliament is to set up a republican

coordination center to provide work for those workers whose administrations might close their enterprises in defiance of Latvian parliament decisions. This was Martins Gravitis for Radio Vilnius in Riga.

Latvia Names Skrastins as General Procurator

91UN0121D Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 27 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by A. Vorontsov: "News From the Parliament"]

[Text] The first impression of Latvia's Supreme Soviet is that one is at the opera. There is a beautiful hall, soloists who are ready to sing their arias, a chorus, and even a buffet with sandwiches and salmon. Last Wednesday the main parties played their roles by designating a general procurator of the Republic of Latvia. He was Janis Skrastins, former deputy procurator of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

The main objections from the "Equality" faction were based on the absence of any mention in the republic's Constitution of the post of general procurator. But that did not disturb the majority of the deputies who were not guided by the letter of the law but by the principles of expediency. In this manner Latvia is repeating the situation of the Republic of Lithuania where a procurator designated by Moscow and its own local procurator function simultaneously.

True, we have a procurator and a general procurator. This is a Latvian peculiarity.

The second highlight on the program must be the "Law on Entrepreneurial Activities."

It was adopted yesterday.

RSFSR

Coverage of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings

Land Reform Program Developed

914B0016A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Oct 90 First Edition p 2

[Report on interview with V.S. Zakharov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Rural Agrarian Development, by TASS legislative correspondents B. Argunov and R. Karyakin on 15 October in Moscow: "At a Session of the Russian Parliament"]

[Text] Work proceeded in the committees and commissions at the session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet on 15 October. TASS correspondents were present at the meeting of the Committee on Rural Agrarian Development.

How is the committee preparing itself for the congress? This is the question that the correspondents asked V.S. Zakharov, deputy chairman of the Committee on Rural Agrarian Development.

[Zakharov] We examined more than 40 different draft laws in three months. These were developed with the involvement of public organizations, ministries, departments, and research organizations, and were submitted for review by the entire deputy corps. In the end they sorted out 12 draft laws. Among them were three documents on land reform, and laws on rural social policy, the rebirth of the Russian village, and the peasant farm.

[TASS] But who, nevertheless, will be in charge of the land?

[Zakharov] This question has been worked out to a sufficient extent. If you proceed from the land reform draft, the local soviets will be in charge in the first stage. In determining the policy for the production of agricultural products we intend to adhere to a multiplan approach. The collective form of management will be maintained, but along with sovkhozes and kolkhozes [state and collective farms]—the large producers of commodities—the development of peasant farms, an individual sector, and cooperatives is envisaged.

[TASS] In a number of speeches by the deputies on the committee we heard about the need for the government to treat the agrarian sector as a top priority. Is this also true in relation to other branches?

[Zakharov] Why? This requirement could be heard as early as the first Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies when by an overwhelming majority vote the delegates supported the demands of agrarian specialists to give priority to the agro-industrial complex.

Situation Within Republics Viewed

PM2910151590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by N. Garifullina: "At the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Session: At the Second Attempt"]

[Text] It seems that, despite all the appeals for consolidation with the Union parliament, some Russian deputies are completely unable to relinquish the customary state of confrontation. At yesterday's sitting, its chairman R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, voiced manifest dissatisfaction at the meeting just held between the USSR president and leaders of autonomous republics at the request of the latter. Khasbulatov said: "There is a perfecely clear understanding with both the president and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet: They have undertaken not to conduct any talks with oblasts, autonomous formations, or other representatives of national minorities or majorities without the involvement of the Russian leadership, parliament, and government. The president is consequently in breach of his undertaking." During a break, representatives of autonomous formations—V.N. Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet; V.I. Khubiyev, chairman of the Karachayevo-Cherkess Oblast Ispolkom [Executive Committee]; and others—in

conversation with me expressed bewilderment at such a manifestly undemocratic way of putting the issue.

As already reported, at the previous sitting the draft Law "On the Operation of Acts of USSR Organs on RSFSR Territory" was not adopted. It was sent back for further work to be done on it and it was not envisaged that it would be discussed this day. However, the sitting had scarcely started before Deputy S.V. Stepashin reported a piece of news which resulted in the scheduled agenda being modified. "In the next 30 minutes," Stepashin said, "each people's deputy will receive a copy of the draft USSR Law 'On Ensuring the Operation of Laws and Other Acts of USSR Legislation'. It envisages in actual fact the introduction of the supremacy of USSR laws, including on RSFSR territory and of presidential decrees and acts.... Whatever we might adopt today will in actual fact be abrogated by acts of the president." He proposed returning to discussion of the draft law.

What the chairman then began saying was reasonable: Why hurry? We will obtain the document, consider it, and take a decision. However, the pressure was too strong. Deputy M.M. Molostvov supported Stepashin and put forward his own argument: "The center and the central legislature operate in their own way—in a logical, considered, and combative manner—while we conduct ourselves defensively. ...Moreover, I want to remind people that our placid legislature swallowed too easily yesterday the statement that our chairman is a provocateur. That, of course, was feminine logic...."

I have to cut our esteemed deputy short here in order to initiate readers into the mystery of "feminine logic." This was a clear reference to the speech made by Deputy I.F. Zalevskaya at the previous sitting. The speech was so eloquent and cogent that it really does deserve quoting.

"I think this law must not be adopted," said Irina Fedorovna firmly. "I am in favor of Russian sovereignty, but we have to do it properly and not in haste, as we are now. During this period—since the spring—we have made a good few gaffes which, I think, we will still have to answer for. This document is yet further evidence that we are heading for confrontation. Today I would like us to be calm and halt this series of provocative acts, in which I include the speech by Boris Yeltsin and the one by Yavlinskiy."

Then, after commenting that she would not wish to take part in such spectacles mounted by the new Moscow theater, the deputy proposed that the two legislatures sit down together and talk. Deputy G.A. Idelbayeva also made a similar statement yesterday, proposing that a conciliation commission be set up between the Supreme Soviets. While the women deputies, aware of the real danger and futility of confrontation, tried to channel the legislature's work into a peaceful and constructive course, the decision of the conciliation commission of the two chambers formed the day before to finalize the draft law and submit if for discussion at the end of the day was nevertheless adopted.

The new version of it was submitted by Deputy V.G. Stepankov, and although a preamble and a completely new article have appeared in it, it was put to a quick vote with almost no discussion. Then something unexpected occurred—unexpected for me, anyway: The draft law which breaches, in the words of its actual drafters, at least three articles of the existing RSFSR Consitution and is at variance with the actual Declaration of RSFSR State Sovereignty, was nevertheless adopted by a majority vote. Did not considerations of who is boss prevail here?

Legislative Drafts Examined

LD2610232890 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS legislative correspondents Boris Zverev, Yuriy Kozmin, and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—The documents that the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet discussed today at separate meetings of the chambers are necessary to "step up the implementation of the economic reform in the republic", as many delegates put it. They discussed a package of bills connected with the implementation of the programme to revive the Russian village and to develop the agro-industrial complex.

The bills include legislative acts on land reform, on social policy in rural areas, on the peasant (farmer) economy and the land code.

These are priority items on the agenda of the extraordinary congress of people's deputies of the Russian Federation, to open in Moscow on November 27.

The introduction of these documents would end the state's monopoly on land. There would be two fundamental forms of property: state and private. The interference of state, economic and other bodies in the economic activity of landowners is prohibited.

The transfer of land to private ownership will be implemented by Soviets' of people's deputies for a fee or free of charge.

As a result of the discussion, both chambers decided to adopt the bills in the first reading and to refer them to parliamentary committees and commissions to be perfected. Many parliamentarians believe that the bills do not envisage a mechanism for the implementaiton of the land reform. This problem is to be resolved shortly.

In the afternoon the chambers of parliament discussed two documents submitted by the committee for the affairs of women, protection of family, mothers and children—decrees "On Urgent Measures To Improve the Situation of Women and Family and the Protection of Mothers and Children in Rural Areas", as well as "On the Creation of a Baby Foods Industry in the Russian Federation".

Various Topics Discussed

LD2910222890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] A session of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium was held today chaired by Khasbulatov. The preparations for the extraordinary congress were examined, along with the order and schedule for the work of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet in the coming week. The setting up of an all-Russian fund for education was approved at the session, and the resolution defining the procedure for its activities was adopted. The issue of observing the principles for the division of legislative and executive powers in the RSFSR was discussed. Necessary recommendations on this problem were adopted. The changes in the administrative-territorial organization of the Udmurt ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Krasnoyarsk Kray, and the Omsk and Rostov Oblasts were confirmed in accordance with the proposals by the corresponding soviets. The resolution on setting up a Russian-German association to stimulate enterprise was adopted. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium issued a statement on the testing of nuclear weapons at the Novaya Zemlya test site. Other issues were also examined at this session.

Law On Economic Ties Promulgated

PM3010125390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

["Law On Economic Ties in 1991" issued by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 23 October]

[Text] For the purposes of stabilizing the functioning of the republic-wide national economic complex, raising the level of the territories' independence in resolving socioeconomic tasks, and preserving in 1991 the economic ties which have taken shape, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves that:

Article 1. Contracts for the supply in 1991 of products, raw materials, semimanufactures, subassemblies, foodstuffs, and industrial goods are concluded by supply enterprises and organizations with consumer enterprises and organizations located on RSFSR territory and also on the territory of other Union republics with which the republic has concluded and is fulfilling on a reciprocal basis economic cooperation agreements, in volumes no lower than in 1990.

Products and goods included in the RSFSR State Order for 1989-1990 are to be supplied to RSFSR consumer enterprises and organizations in accordance with the established economic ties at the level of the volumes of previous years.

Article 2. When supply enterprises and organizations conclude contracts at the level of the actual volumes of deliveries in 1990 in physical terms, they can provide for the independent use of up to 20 percent of the products (goods) produced in accordance with the state order.

The Councils of Ministers of the republics incorporated in the RSFSR, the executive committees of kray and oblast soviets and of Moscow and Leningrad City Soviets, and the executive committees of autonomous oblast and autonomous okrug soviets and of other local soviets are permitted, by agreement with labor collectives, to use at their discretion, in sum, 10 percent of the products (goods) produced by enterprises and organizations located on the corresponding territory.

The procedure for applying this article is laid down by the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Article 3. Orders, including those defined by the USSR Council of Ministers, are carried out following the realization of republic orders and orders ensuring the balanced development of enterprises and organizations on RSFSR territory.

Article 4. The RSFSR Council of Ministers has the right in 1991 to use the necessary part of the volume of products (goods) for export deliveries defined by the state order for purposes of purchasing imported raw materials, semimanufactures, and subassemblies ensuring the functioning of the RSFSR national economic complex.

The procedure for conducting currency and financial operations connected with the realization of this article is defined by the RSFSR Foreign Trade Bank.

Article 5. It is prohibited to force consumer enterprises and organizations into disadvantageous contract terms or terms unrelated to the subject of the contract—to demand the transfer of foodstuffs, raw materials, semimanufactures, products, apartment blocks, or apartments, or to include in the contract goods that the consumer does not need; to groundlessly demand the transfer of financial assets, including currency, the supplying of manpower by the consumer, etc.—with the exception of established ties for reciprocal deliveries of equipment or semimanufactures for the manufacture of subassemblies and goods.

The rights of enterprises and organizations in the conclusion of contracts are protected by the RSFSR State Board of Arbitration.

Article 6. To increase liability for the nonfulfillment of contract pledges under existing economic ties during 1991 and for delays in delivering or the incomplete delivery of products (goods), the supplier pays the consumer a penalty equal to the harm done, but not less than 50 percent of the cost of the products not supplied on schedule.

If a USSR State Order is set which violates the established economic ties, supply enterprises and organizations and consumer enterprises and organizations located on RSFSR territory have the right to challenge it in organs of the RSFSR State Board of Arbitration.

R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
RSFSR House of Soviets, Moscow, 23 October 1990

Law on RSFSR Sovereignty

PM2810155290 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

["Law on the Operation of USSR Bodies' Enactments on RSFSR Territory" issued by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow on October 24]

[Text] With a view to defending the Russian Federation's sovereignty and guided by the Declaration on RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Sovereignty, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

Article 1. Laws and other enactments by the supreme bodies of state power of the USSR, decrees and other enactments of the USSR president, enactments of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR ministries and departments adopted within the limits of the powers delegated by the Russian Federation to the USSR in accordance with the Declaration on RSFSR State Sovereignty and with the Resolution of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies "On the Demarcation of Functions of Management of Organizations on RSFSR Territory" operate directly on RSFSR territory.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet, or where appropriate the RSFSR Council of Ministers, is entitled to suspend the operation of the enactments indicated in the present article if they violate the sovereignty of the Russian Federation.

Article 2. In cases not stipulated in Article 1 of the present law:

Laws and other enactments of bodies of supreme state power of the USSR and decrees and other enactments of the USSR president enter into force on RSFSR territory after their ratification by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet;

enactments of the USSR Council of Ministers enter into force on RSFSR territory after their confirmation by the RSFSR Council of Ministers;

enactments of USSR ministries and departments enter into force on RSFSR territory after their confirmation by RSFSR state bodies authorized by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet or the RSFSR Council of Ministers, as appropriate.

Article 3. Pending the conclusion of a Federal Treaty, republics belonging to the RSFSR participate in the resolution of questions of suspension, ratification, and confirmation of enactments of USSR bodies through supreme bodies of state power and administration of the RSFSR or in other ways specified by the legislation of republics belonging to the RSFSR.

Article 4. Enactments of USSR bodies promulgated prior to the adoption of the present law operate on RSFSR territory unless they have been suspended by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet or the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Article 5. Decisions of state bodies; social, political, and cooperative bodies; and other organizations, enterprises, and officials operating on the territory of the RSFSR and contracts and other deals adopted or completed on the basis of enactments of USSR bodies that have not been ratified or confirmed or have been suspended in accordance with the present law are invalid.

Article 6. In cases where actions stipulated by Article 5 of the present law are committed, citizens, officials, state bodies, social, political, or cooperative bodies, and other organizations and enterprises are accountable in accordance with RSFSR legislation.

R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, RSFSR House of Soviets, 24 October 1990

Moscow Food Supplies 'No Worse Than Last Year'

LD2910223490 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 29 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Ruben Shirinyan]

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—Food supplies in Moscow this winter will be no worse than last year, Sergey Stankevich, first deputy mayor of Moscow, told journalists here today.

The deputy mayor emphasised the need to step up business ties with foreign partners. He said that the purchases made abroad would replenish food stocks in Moscow. Food products that can be stored are being imported. Military airfields can also be used to bring in the food.

Stankevich refuted assertions of some Soviet news organisations that heads of the Moscow City Council make trips abroad too frequently. He said that each foreign visit by officials of the Moscow City Council results in new contracts and helps saturate Moscow's consumer market. Stankevich called on foreign entrepreneurs to open shops and other servicing facilities in Moscow, and promised them the Moscow Council's assistance.

The deputy mayor said that privatisation of catering enterprises in Moscow should be speeded up. This applies mainly to small shops and cafes. "We are still unable to sell our large stores," he said.

Asked about military parade on November 7 in Red Square, Stankevich said that he had set out his opposition to this event in his address to the Soviet president. Stankevich believes that the expedience of holding such measures in future should be discussed again. He believes that the parades should be held less regularly.

RSFSR, Kazakhstan Sign Economic Agreement

LD2910211790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1144 GMT 29 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Pavel Ostrov and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 29 Oct (TASS)—The governments of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan today concluded an agreement on economic cooperation for 1991 and on developing cultural ties. The document signed by Ivan Silayev and Uzakbay Karamanov, the premiers of the two Union republics, envisages maintaining reciprocal supplies of goods next year at a level no lower than this year's. [passage omitted]

Conference Held on Joint Ventures in RSFSR

PM2910140190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 1

[Report by I. Demchenko: "Joint Ventures: From Exchange to Trade"]

[Text] A scientific and practical conference of the Russian union of joint entrepreneurship—the "Joint Ventures for a Renascent Russia"—was held 24 October.

Strictly speaking who can be of more use to whom is so far an open question. The participants in joint ventures and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies who came to the conference voiced mutual interest in cooperation. It may be said that common economic difficulties brought them closer.

According to V. Tikhomirov, president of the Russian union, joint entrepreneurship is again, as at the very start of its activity, experiencing far from its best times. It is true that accusations of the desire to sell off our native land have begun to be heard less frequently. That is understandable—there is virtually nothing to sell.

I. Flaminskiy, director of the USSR Council of Minister State Foreign Economic Commission Scientific Research Institute of Foreign Economic Relations, has reported that **our country pays off about two-thirds of the currency it earns in debts.** He cited the following figures: Next year the Soviet Union's entire industry, according to calculations, will earn 18 to 20 billion currency rubles. Of this sum we already know we shall have to hand over 12.5 billion. At the request of your IZVESTIYA correspondent, Igor Pavlovich specified that the sum total of debt commitments does not take into account the servicing of credits which it is planned to obtain before the end of this year and next year. It is no accident that it takes three to four months to obtain at the USSR Foreign Economic Bank the currency which belongs to ventures. According to the "basic guidelines for the stabilization of the national economy and the transition to a market economy," the implementation of currency policy is the province of the organs of union management.

I. Flaminskiy rightly noted that the state of currency affairs reflects the state of the country's economy as a whole. Trust in the ruble as a means of payment is declining rapidly. As V. Zhukov, general director of the "Konsortsium" joint venture said, "for a long time now we have not been trading but exchanging with each other." Barter deals continue to flourish, and as a form of payment obvious preference is given to freely convertible currency."

This is also indirectly confirmed by the results of recent currency auctions. Consignments of foreign money displayed at them are extremely limited. The owners are obviously reluctant to part with currency accumulations even at the absolutely fantastic ruble exchange rate offered at auctions, so that the prediction voiced at the conference that the opening of currency exchanges in our country planned for 1991 will not be a powerful enough means of revival to maintain economic relations may perfectly well come to pass.

Actually, only the consolidation of our national currency—the ruble—could be such a means. According to one participant in the conference, the transition to the market under the conditions of the instability of money circulation could in terms of its adverse consequences be tantamount to attempts to carry out the structural perestroyka of the economy while "under way."

Concluding a treaty on mutual aid, mutual understanding, and nonaggression with the republic's parliamentarians, the participants in the joint ventures situated on Russia's territory separated to go home to continue the struggle against the difficulties.

Coverage of Social Democrats Party Congress

Party Aims Discussed

LD2710001390 Moscow TASS in English 2018 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS special correspondents Lev Aksenov and Nadezhda Potapova]

[Text] Sverdlovsk October 26 TASS—The tasks of Russian Social Democrats in the present complex political situation and their future goals are debated at the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party under way here.

Its constituent congress was held in Moscow in May. The party now has a membership of some ten thousand.

People's deputies of the Soviet Union and Russia and a large number of deputies of local councils participate in the second congress. Delegates include workers, representatives of the intelligentsia, many young people.

The delegates representing many regions of the Russian Federation, the biggest republic of the USSR, discuss the draft party programme. Questions of the social policy and social protection in conditions of a transfer to market relations hold the central place.

Oleg Rumyantsev, member of the party's presidium, people's deputy of the Russian Federation, told TASS that the Social Democratic Party sees its place in society as a "conscious and constructive part of the democratic movement." "The Social Democrats are striving to improve the society by means of reforms," he said. "We

are prepared to participate in a revolution that is a constitutional and legal revolution, not the one fought at the barricades."

Oleg Rumyantsev, secretary of the Russian parliament's Constitutional Commission (which is chaired by Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet) noted that Social Democrats intend vigorously to participate in the popularising of the republic's new fundamental law the draft of which has now been submitted to the consideration of commissions and committees of the Russian parliament and will later be discussed by an extraordinary congress of people's deputies of the Russian Federation.

The draft programme of the Social Democratic Party assesses Russia's historic part covered in the 20th century and sets out the Social Democrats' view of their place in society and state and formulates the goals and stages of the party's activity in conditions of a transfer to a market. There is difference of opinions on whether the document should be adopted at once or whether the congress should be held in two stages.

In the afternoon the delegates work in the commissions to discuss separate sections of the draft party programme. The congress will end on Sunday [28 Oct].

Market Economy Major Topic

LD2810103990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1955 GMT 27 Oct 90

[By TASS special correspondents Lev Aksenov and Nadezhda Potapova]

[Text] Sverdlovsk, 27 October (TASS)— The working part of the second congress of the Social Democratic Party of the Russian Federation [SDPR] ended here today with the adoption of "The Road of Progress and Social Democracy" program. During the past three days, delegates representing dozens of party organizations from various regions of the Russian Federation discussed issues and positions of social democracy in contemporary Russia, and SDPR's stance on a market economy, and problems of social protection.

Delegates paid close attention to issues of the transfer to a market economy. Alongside the overall approval of the idea to introduce a market system, people's deputy Valentin Davituliani explained in an interview to a TASS correspondent that two approaches to the problems have formed. Some are in favor of a rapid transfer to a market system, while others want a "more moderate" pace of this process.

The results of the congress were summed up tonight by members of the SDPR presidium. Oleg Runyantsev, a Russian Federation people's deputy, said that delegates had approved an SDPR coalition with the Democratic Party of the Russian Federation and the Democratic Platform of the Russian Federation, as well as the Party's participation in the "Democratic Russia" movement.

Taking into account the importance of the draft program, delegates decided to discuss this document in local party organizations in the near future. The revised variant of the program will be submitted to the third SDPR congress in April 1991.

The SDPR is a young party; its founding congress took place in May.

Congress Concludes

LD2810200390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1358 GMT 28 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Nadezhda Potapova and Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Sverdlovsk, 28 Oct (TASS)—"The congress was successful; it showed that the party has come into being," stated People's Deputy Oleg Rumyantsev at a press conference on the result of the congress of the Social Democratic Party of Russia [SDPR], held for four days in Sverdlovsk.

Although the SDPR program was not adopted—it was actually for this reason that many of the 94 delegates from 62 primary organizations traveled to the congress—the work in Sverdlovsk for the young party really was fruitful thanks primarily to debates on the most burning problems in the life of the republic. In commissions on specific problems, delegates discussed the role and place and the aims and stages of activity of social democracy under the difficult conditions of transition to the market, in organizing the social protection of people, and in averting ethnic conflicts.

It can be said that in May this year, when the first congress took place and the Russian social democrats were competing in anticommunism, then the level and political maturity of the debates at the second congress have risen substantially. Without renouncing the role of opposition as regards the CPSU, the social democrats stressed that the SDPR rejects violent methods as a means of achieving political goals.

Many delegates attempted to take part in the work of the commission which discussed the problem of local party organizations. The touchstone as to the maturity of these primary cells should be forthcoming work on the draft program of the party which was approved in principle by the congress. It was decided to adopt the program only after local discussion and elaboration at the third congress in April 1991.

Taking part in the work of the SDPR congress were people's deputies of the USSR, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and local soviets. Delegates took part in an ecological meeting for the ending of nuclear weapons tests.

Officials Claim Congress Successful

LD2910233290 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—"The second congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party that ended in Sverdlovsk on Sunday was a success. The policy statement endorsed by the delegates is the forum's main achievement," said Oleg Rumyantsev, member of the party presidium and Russian parliament.

He and other leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Russia addressed a news conference here today at the end of the congress.

Member of the presidium Aleksandr Obolenskiy said several drafts of the party programme had been prepared for the party's founding congress, which took place in Moscow in May. But the founders of the party believe that it is less important to adopt a document than to draw into work to draft it the maximum possible number of Russian Social-Democrats. As a result, the draft, proposed to the second congress, has accumulated proposals from nearly 30 local social democratic organisations.

Describing the contents of the Sverdlovsk document, Sergey Markov, head of the party's programme-political commission, noted that the party favours a "civilised market" and the creation of a reliable system of social protection on the road to a market economy.

Social democrats are firm supporters of civil peace, which is crucial for Russia at the current difficult time, speakers said.

In reply to a TASS question, Rumyantsev said the Social Democratic Party maintains regular links with sister parties in eleven Union republics. As for contacts with foreign social democrats, the party has extensive links with the Italian Social Party, the Socialist Party of Austria, the French Social Party, the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and small social democratic parties of East European countries.

The Social Democratic Party of Russia, said Rumyantsev, has applied for membership of the Socialist International. Its request will be considered at the Socialist International's next congress in 1992.

Russian Christian Democratic Conference Concludes

LD2910105190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 28 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 28 Oct (TASS)—The second conference of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement (RCDM), one of Russia's new public forces, ended here today. The RCDM entered the republic's political scene just over six months ago when its constituent conference was held. [passage omitted] At present the movement has around 15,000 individual members and the RCDM has organizations in all parts of the Russian Federation, according to its leaders.

The task of this conference which began on Saturday [27 October] was to review the first results of the activity of the RCDM and define its immediate aims. One of these was put into words by the publicist Viktor Aksyuchits, a Russian Federation people's deputy and cochairman of the Duma of the RCDM who addressed the conference. He considers, among other things, that the RCDM must aspire to cooperate with similar parties and public and political groups in order to create a block of parties whose aim is to revive traditional political values in Russia. Among the RCDM's allies are the Constitutional Democrats, the People's Labour Union, and nonextremist patriotic groups which are in opposition to the CPSU.

This is the tone of the document adopted today before the conference ended—a resolution on participation by the RCDM in the Democratic Russia movement who constituent congress was held in the Soviet capital a week ago. The RCDM, the resolution says, "understands Democratic Russia as a coalition aimed at overcoming the sociopolitical monopoly of the CPSU and other political forces which are guided by communist ideology."

The second conference of the RCDM was only another step toward establishing the concrete aims of the movement. They are to be finalized at a session of its highest governing body, the Assembly (Congress), which will be convened in about a month's time.

Moscow's Prokofyev Discusses 7 Nov Parade

PM2810200890 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee, by correspondent N. Belan; place and date not given: "Moscow, 7 November"—first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] Public opinion is mixed over the military parade and festive demonstration in Red Square 7 November. The Mossovet [Moscow City Soviet] leaders have expressed their attitude too. Moscow CPSU Gorkom [city committee] takes a different view. We asked Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, to explain this view.

[Belan] Yuriy Anatolyevich, some people have already scathingly christened the forthcoming demonstration the "gorkom" demonstration. Is it true that Moscow party gorkom's position reflects only the feelings of the capital's Communists and their leaders?

[Prokofyev] I would not call it a "gorkom" demonstration, although Moscow CPSU Gorkom is one of its sponsors. I would like to draw your attention to the following. After the well-known statements by G. Popov and A. Sobchak, who proposed abstaining from demonstrations on 7 November and devoting the festive days to

cleaning up the cities and preparing for winter, our gorkom allowed a fairly long period to elapse, and only expressed its own view at the Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum. We were unwilling to hurry or to give an instant reaction because we wanted to learn the Muscovites' opinion. The people had their say. We have received literally a torrent of letters, not only from Communists and veterans but also from young people, nonparty people, and labor collectives with the request—and often the demand—that we do not change our traditions but mark our state holiday, albeit more modestly. We have also carried out sociological studies and met with labor collectives. I personally visit collectives two or three times a week. For instance, the other day I was at the "Rassvet" Plant in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon—here there is full support for the festive demonstration. The other day we had a meeting with Mossovet deputies from the "Moscow" group; all but one of them came out in favor of holding the demonstration.

So we are drawing on the opinion and support of the broadest masses.

Incidentally, I would also like to cite the experience of other countries. In France, for instance, every year the day of the fall of the Bastille is marked—the festival of the great French Revolution. It is not fitting for us to be "Ivans who do not remember their ancestors." The anniversary of October is the birthday of our state.

Yes, a reinterpretation of certain facts in our history is currently under way. But all the same, let us not confuse matters: What happened after the Great October Revolution did not necessarily happen as a result of it. I am talking about the mistakes and crimes committed by the former party and state leadership.

[Belan] It has become known that there are also alternative applications to hold a demonstration. One of these, from Zelenograd and from a detachment of USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies, envisages holding a demonstration at the same time and in the same place as those announced by you. It is justifiable to ask: What can be expected to happen?

[Prokofyev] A meeting was recently held at the Mossovet between a group of social organizations that advocates holding a demonstation in conjunction with Moscow CPSU Gorkom—the association of the city's industrial enterprises, Moscow Komsomol [Communist Youth League] Gorkom, the Moscow Veterans' Council, the Women's Council, and others—and the initiative groups supporting alternative demonstrations. An agreement was reached: Since our group submitted its application first, we will hold our demonstration, and the initiative groups will hold theirs one and a half or two hours after ours.

That is the first point. The second point is that some of the alternative groups have joined our demonstration and they will march with their own slogans, but together with us.

[Belan] There have been rumors of possible incidents, that certain groups of students are apparently preparing to lie down under the tanks, to stop the parade....

[Prokofyev] I wish to say that all this—the rumors, the whipping up of passions—is being done to frighten people and wreck the demonstration. The 1 May demonstration was also in two parts, so to speak. The first was organized by the Moscow trade unions, the second by the Moscow Voters' Association. On 9 May there were also threats that people would thrown themselves under tanks and spray paint on the machinery. It did not happen. There is no need to think and speak so ill of the Muscovites.

[Belan] One argument is that the demonstration is costly.

[Prokofyev] I think that is hypocritical. Considerably more resources were spent on holding the festival of the city. The demonstration will not cost much. First, there will not be the cumbersome, pompous, and lavish formation of columns as there used to be; and second, there will be no orders to participate in the demonstration. People will join the columns of demonstrators at the prompting of their hearts.

[Belan] I have heard the view that this year's military parade and demonstration will be the last. What do you think?

[Prokofyev] I am neither an optimist nor a pessimist. I am a realist. So for all the complexity of the situation in the country, I am counting on our people's common sense. I remember the words of the writer Sergey Zalygin: Why are we such an unfortunate country, that we always start everything from scratch? We destroy everything, and then build anew. Yes, that is our tragedy and our mistake. But I do not think this mistake will be made again.

Prokofyev Views 500 Days, Moscow Situation

91UN0141A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 90 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report on news conference by Yu. Prokofyev, first secretary of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom: "In the Moscow City Committee Press Center"]

[Text] "The switch to market relations is necessary" Yu. Prokofyev, first secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee [gorkom], said yesterday at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists.

In a brief opening statement Yu. Prokofyev talked about the results of two plenums—in the Moscow Party Gorkom and the CPSU Central Committee—at which the situation in the country and the tasks for the CPSU in connection with the country's switch to market relations were discussed. The lack of a clearly defined line from the party with respect to its attitude toward the program for the switch to the market, he said, has been exerting an adverse effect on the sociopolitical situation and the authority of the party organizations. Now this line has been clearly defined. The switch to market relations in the economy is vitally necessary. However,

after determining the path to the market, it is now essential to focus on stabilizing the economy and straightening out the state of affairs. The situation in the country is critical and explosive. Inflation and commodity shortages are growing and social tension is increasing. Moreover, there have been strategic blunders and tactical mistakes in the process of perestroyka. This is why decisive actions capable of dealing with the crisis are necessary today.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] What is your attitude toward the government program for the switch to the market and the Shatalin's plan?

[Prokofyev] No country in the world has moved from such a rigid centralized system to market conditions. It is an unblazed trail, and it is impossible to think of everything. I think it is essential to define first of all the principles for the switch to the market and a program for the period of stabilization, and then move further depending on the situation. As is known, the CPSU Central Committee plenum did not support any one program but expressed itself on factors of principle, namely its attitude toward property, social safeguards for the population, and the role of a unified state under the conditions of the switch to the market. There is more. Neither the government program nor Shatalin's have insurance mechanisms; they are one of a kind. We must necessarily have such mechanisms in case the reform gets out of control.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] The Russian legislature is stating that it will pursue a "500 days" program regardless of the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. What is the position of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom in this internecine war?

[Prokofyev] It seems to me that the Russian legislature has been in too much of a hurry. It is essential to make a detailed study of any program in order to understand it properly. I think that this has not been done. As previously, a certain role has been played in this by the authority of the leaders. Yeltsin supports it, Gorbachev expressed himself of the Shatalin program, and the voting went off smoothly....

Now many serious economists, including some in the West, are talking about the impossibility of implementing this program within the timeframe proposed. It will take about three years to stabilize the situation, and only by 1995 will it be possible to obtain real results. Of course, goods will appear on the shelves before then, not because there will be more goods but because living standards will decline and prices increase. It would thus probably be incorrect to be in any hurry to adopt any particular program for the switch to the market.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] But should the CPSU Central Committee plenum not have expressed itself more definitely on the kind of sociopolitical formation that will be shaped as a result of the switch to the market?

[Prokofyev] The plenum did express itself quite clearly. The market must not be confused with the sociopolitical formation. Take France, for example. About 35 percent of the enterprises there are managed by the state. For example, the well-known Renault company. Its enterprises are operating successfully under market conditions.

The mechanism regulating money-exchange relations exists under both socialism and capitalism. It is a matter of different degrees of privatization: Perhaps it will be mainly in private property, which is now typical of Third World countries, or perhaps there will be a different form of ownership—state, joint-stock, cooperative. Second, and this is important, there is distribution. Here the socialist state may also have something important to say. It is therefore impossible to say that the switch to a regulated market economy will lead to a change in the sociopolitical formation. There are two ways. The first is when people make use of the market opportunities afforded them and social safeguards are in place, and the second is becoming capitalist. Naturally, the CPSU favors the former.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] Your speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum contained criticism of the position of M. Gorbachev. On what was this based?

[Prokofyev] In order to stabilize society and the party, the leader must assume a more definite position. This cannot be achieved when his course oscillates now to the right, now to the left. He needs to define his course more clearly and speak out more often on the most important events in our country. The country may like it or it may not, but at least it is aware of the position of N. Ryzhkov. I would like the party leader also to speak out.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] How is the CPSU Moscow Gorkom planning in a practical way to set up a faction in the Moscow Soviet?

[Prokofyev] In the Moscow Soviet the situation is as follows. The deputies include 270 party members, and about 50 people have resigned from the CPSU. The "Moscow" group includes 90 people. It will exist and will in the future become the main party faction. We shall meet and take counsel together on matters of interest. I think that it is inadvisable to set up some rigid structure within the Moscow Soviet. It is essential to move along the path of consolidating the groups that already exist.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] Is a social explosion possible in Moscow?

[Prokofyev] It is possible both in Moscow and in the country. First and foremost because of the unsatisfactory supplies of food and goods. This explosion can be avoided only by agreement and joint action by the Moscow Soviet and the city party organization in finding practical solutions to the problem of providing Muscovites with goods, organizing the harvesting, importing products from other parts of the country, and purchasing imported goods.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] How does the Moscow party organization plan to mark the October anniversary?

[Prokofyev] We believe that according to tradition a ceremonial gathering can take place, but without any long report, though definitely with a concert. We are proposing that before the military parade a meeting be held on Red Square and that we ask the president to address those present. You know, many of the organizations and many Muscovites would like to come to Red Square on that day. We are therefore asking the Moscow Soviet to organize a demonstration.

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA] Does Gorbachev's promise to prepare an ukase to protect the V.I. Lenin monument not signify a return to the ideologization of politics?

[Prokofyev] If the president does issue such an ukase, it will first and foremost save it from vandalism. Today they are tearing down monuments to Lenin, tomorrow someone else will displease them and they will tear down monuments to Pushkin, just as in Georgia they have removed the monument to Shot Rustaveli. Then they will smash up memorial plaques, and then heads will fly.... Take France where they pay the same kind of respect to monuments to Napoleon and to Robespierre. History is history, and we must show a solicitous attitude toward it if we really want to create a civilized state. [end Prokofyev]

At the news conference, which lasted almost two hours, a number of questions were asked concerning various aspects of the activity of the capital's party organization under present-day conditions.

CPSU's Dzasokhov Visits North Osetian ASSR

LD2910211290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dzasokhov, USSR people's deputy, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the North Ossetian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] from 26 to 29 October. He visited multiethnic labor collectives and spoke to young voters and representatives of the creative intelligentsia. He also visited Vladikavkaz City Executive Committee and Alagir rayon of North Ossetia. During the meetings, much attention was paid to complex problems in the renewal of society in the conditions of drafting a new economic treaty and acceleration of social transformations.

Polozkov Interviewed on Visit to Bashkiria

LD2710100190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] The conference of the oblast party organization of Bashkiria finished its work in Ufa today. Our correspondent Madril Gafurov reports:

[Gafurov] The delegates discussed and approved the main directions of the political activity of the Communists of Bashkiria during the period when the crisis processes taking place in the country are also taking place in Bashkiria: when the volume of industrial and construction output is declining; when the rate of growth of agricultural produce is still remaining low; when the coupon system for the most basic foodstuffs is still in force; when the ecological situation is catastrophic; when the health service is in a poor state, leading to adverse demographic characteristics; and when, to crown it all, the political situation in the republic is characterized by the gradual formation of opposition forces who reject the socialist way and seek a review of the decisions of the 28th Congress of the CPSU and slow down in all possible ways the process of changes.

In such circumstances, as it said in the adopted document, the Bashkirian republican party organization is full of determination to become a real political force that expresses and protects the interests of the working people, maintaining the socialist ideals and universally human values.

The issue of renaming the oblast party organization as the Bashkirian Republican Party Organization of the Communist Party of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], in accordance with the Rules of the CPSU and in connection with the adoption by the Bashkir Supreme Soviet of the declaration of the state sovereignty of Bashkiria, was also discussed at the conference.

Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia and member of the CPSU Politburo, took part and delivered a speech at the conference. Immediately after the conference he gave an interview specially for all-Union radio:

[Begin recording] [Gafurov] What concretely have you derived for yourself from this visit?

[Polozkov] The necessity of meeting with collectives of different branches more frequently; to have more meetings with the Communists directly in the collectives of the local organizations because the true cross-section of such an opinion of the public on some given issue can be achieved only there.

Second, this is the first time that I have visited this republic. It is better to see once, as the people say, than to hear a hundred times. So I have heard a lot about this organization and today I have seen with my own eyes that this is a healthy and a strong organization that is able to overcome the deformations mentioned here and that have been widely discussed, that affected the party in its time, that we accumulated during the many years of stagnation and from earlier times of the thirties.

That is, this organization will manage, will successfully go through all difficulties, and will be able to find its feet as a party organization of one of the leading regions of Russia. [end recording]

Leningrad Soviet Second Session Evaluated

91UN0124A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 21 Oct 90 p 3

[Interview with V. Shcherbakov, member of the Leningrad Soviet, by S. Ivanov; place and date not given: "'If We Could Make It Through the Holidays Without Quarreling'—Why the Leningrad Soviet Is Alarmed"—first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The second session of the Leningrad Soviet has ended in the city on the Neva. You could not call it smooth, nor was it epochal for the residents of Leningrad, but there was progress in comparison with the preceding session. However, as much as the parliamentary "ship" rocked this time, it did move forward. The deputies succeeded in doing their work in a relatively short period of time.

A heavy burden of problems lies on the shoulders of the new authorities. With it comes a new sobriety: It is not the "left" or the "right," the "radicals" or the "conservatives" who are building a life worthy of man—it is only those who are professionals. Does it really matter to the victims of the Leningrad blockade whether it is the stagnation of the bureaucrats or the incompetence of the radicals that compounds their problems?

V.N. Shcherbakov is one of those politicians who has been summoned by life itself. By yesterday's measure he has a quite successful if not very "distinguished" biography. He has been a rear admiral, a doctor of military sciences, and has headed a department at the Naval Academy. However, for many years he has studied problems of administration, and perhaps for that reason he has become the right-hand man of another professor in the Leningrad Soviet—Anatoliy Sobchak.

[Ivanov] Vyacheslav Nikolayevich, during the stormy sessions you distinguished yourself by your peace and goodwill. How have you managed to preserve such valuable qualities?

[Shcherbakov] This is not the first time I have had to lead a large collective of people. Up until recently I was teaching servicemen who are higher than me in rank and older than me. I am accustomed to talking with my audience respectfully and without the intonation of a superior.

[Ivanov] On the eve of the session and during its course, the Leningrad deputies argued a lot about limiting the functions of the soviet's presidium and executive committee. What result did they arrive at? And tell us what your obligations are personally.

[Shcherbakov] A portion of the deputies fear that Sobchak and his subordinates may usurp power. Therefore attempts have been undertaken to make the executive committee completely independent. In my opinion this intention would be good for a healthy parliamentary state, but at present it may be inappropriate. According to my proposal, the presidium should still retain the right to suspend any ruling of the executive organ.

In essence, at present I have been entrusted with the duties of speaker. But I think that in the near future the question will be raised of expanding the rights of the Leningrad Soviet Presidium, if only because the present executive committee is not yet an organ capable of work. In my opinion, it contains only two genuine specialists: Volshakov and Gubkin. The rest of the comrades do not even have a month to master their new positions.

[Ivanov] Alexander Nevzorov, the television journalist who is so severe in his views, called the deputies masters of wordiness, and not without reason. How successful have they been in avoiding that role?

[Shcherbakov] The rally-like passions are gradually subsiding to nothing. We have reached questions that demand deep professional training, not an ability to argue at full speed. At the next session we will be putting together a city budget and discussing different ways of embarking on a free enterprise zone. I believe that some of the talkers will abandon the microphones.

[Ivanov] Tell us what the deputies have done over the past two weeks that is useful.

[Shcherbakov] For the first time we have focused our attention on a free enterprise zone. We have elected an executive committee and begun to limit the jurisdiction of it and of the soviet's presidium. We gave a negative evaluation of a project to build a dam to protect the city from flooding. We have marked out a path for resolving the food problem. And finally, we now have a good idea of Leningrad's standing in 1990. Soon the voter will have the right to demand an account of what the new authorities have done.

[Ivanov] What are your relations with A.A. Sobchak like?

[Shcherbakov] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich once told me: "You and I are two professors, and our relations must be especially professorial: We will help one another without worrying about who is the subordinate and who is the boss." That principle is being maintained. There have not been any major disagreements at all. But we are professors of different schools. He is accustomed to communicating with students, and I with gray-haired admirals.

[Ivanov] That is to say that he sees the deputies as "students" and you see them as "admirals"?

[Shcherbakov] I prefer to see them as equal colleagues. Sobchak really does permit himself frequent sarcastic replies, which he himself later regrets. But he is the leader that Leningrad needs. Thanks to him and his authority, we have managed to create a fund for the renewal of the city which is already receiving solid hard-currency contributions. Knowing the intensive rhythm of Anatoliy Aleksandrovich's life, I deliberately forgive him a few weaknesses. After all, he often arrives at a meeting of the presidium directly from an airplane after a business meeting in another city, and then we have to search the building of the Leningrad Soviet for shaving equipment so that the chairman will be "in form".... Shchelkanov, on the other hand, could very

well tighten up his schedule. I cannot understand how he can dedicate two days per week to meetings with the voters. I work here from 0730 to 2000, often on Saturdays as well, and I still go home feeling as though I have not done enough. In my opinion, a good chairman of the executive committee should be a real laborer for the city.

[Ivanov] What concerns you now at the end of the working session?

[Shcherbakov] How we make it through the coming holidays without quarreling. The question of the renaming of the city may split people into enemy camps. A reasonable compromise proposal occurs to me—to name the central rayon of Leningrad Sankt-Peterburgskiy Rayon. True, wags are already trying out the sound of the title: The Sankt-Peterburgskiy Party Raykom [rayon party committee]. But I believe that one can become accustomed to any word combination. The main thing today is to avoid a social explosion.

Society of Unity Meets in Leningrad

LD2810102690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2246 GMT 27 Oct 90

[From the "Television Service" program]

[Text] The name of the leader of Society of Unity for Leninism and Communist Ideals organization is known to the whole country as Nina Andreyeva. She has gathered her supporters within the walls of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League Higher Naval Submarine Academy [Leningrad] for the third all-Union constituent conference. The delegates are carrying on their fight despite all difficulties. Counter, bourgeois democracy, slander, and provocation are the words which are most frequently met in their lexicon. What they are striving for is a firm hand.

While the life of the city flows along its allotted course, the adherents of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and as they themselves define it Stalinism, continue the fight for a bright future for all mankind.

Details Given on Sverdlovsk Arms-for-Food Deal

PM3010105390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 p 1

[Report by TASS and correspondent V. Sanatin under general heading "Lev Voronin Refutes... But Whom?"]

[Text]

TASS Report....

Many people have different perceptions of the implementation of the conversion program in the USSR coupled with the democratization of foreign economic activity. There are different reasons for this, including unverified claims. It was in the context of one such claim, concerning a most important aspect of the state's activity—the regulation of arms production and sales—that TASS correspondent Ye. Yelizarov approached L. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for elucidation.

[Yelizarov] The article "Tanks for Spaghetti?" published by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on 24 October, claims that at a recent meeting with a delegation from Sverdlovsk you promised to allow the oblast leadership to engage in autonomous trade in the tanks produced by the oblast's enterprises. Have we really put an end to state monopoly on the arms trade?

[Voronin] This question was raised by the people from Sverdlovsk. But they were unambiguously told that the trade in military equipment is the state's prerogative and is implemented strictly within the framework of intergovernment agreements coupled with observance of international norms. No concessions can be allowed here.

[Yelizarov] The article claims that the center's incompetence in matters of foreign trade results in great losses for the country's budget. Is this not confirmed by the fact, cited by the newspaper, that the Bogoslovskiy Aluminum Plant has been given permission to exchange abroad 5,000 tonnes of aluminum, a most important strategic raw material, for 5,000 tonnes of meat? One need not be an expert to realize that such a deal is ruinous for us.

[Voronin] I have no intention of appraising each individual foreign trade deal. But I must say that an exception was made for the Bogoslovskiy Aluminum Plant and it was indeed allowed to utilize part of the funds earned from the sale of aluminum for the acquisition of food. But this operation was equally geared to the acquisition of caustic soda, coal pitch, and additional raw and other materials which are extremely necessary for this enterprise's uninterrupted operations. In other words, there can be no talk at all about any loss resulting from this deal.

[Yelizarov] How correct is the author of the article in claiming that almost one-half of Sverdlovsk Oblast's working population is engaged in the production of military output? What sort of conversion are we talking about if this is the case?

[Voronin] Of course this is not so. Suffice it to say that even at the oblast's defense industry enterprises, less than one-half of the workforce is engaged on the manufacture of military output. As for conversion, it is already yielding its fruit. During the first nine months of this year, enterprises from the country's defense industry complex increased the manufacture of consumer goods by 25 percent. One-third of the entire workforce previously working on defense has now been switched to their production. Overall, the proportion of the total volume of defense industry sectors' output represented by civilian products already stands at 50 percent.

A similar state of affairs prevails at defense industry sectors in Sverdlovsk Oblast. By way of an example, I could cite the Uralvagonzavod which is mentioned in the article. Over the last few years, the proportion of civilian output has increased by a factor of 1.6. Thereby the production of

consumer goods has more than doubled. The pace of conversion at this plant will be accelerated further still in the next few years. The proportion represented by civilian output will reach 60 percent already in 1991.

...And a Report by Our Own Correspondent

It must be noted that people in Sverdlovsk were granted a general barter deal license by the government three months ago. They were allowed to sell five percent of all output produced in the oblast at their own discretion. This would have been of tremendous help.... Three months later, however, people in Sverdlovsk have simply been unable to find any surplus of civilian output which could have been used to earn foreign currency....

Meanwhile, the oblast is threatened by mass starvation. There is literally nothing left on store shelves. State deliveries of meat, fish, and canned foods have been thwarted. Furthermore, following willful decisions by oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] chairmen in several oblasts, some 3,000 tonnes of butter were not shipped to Sverdlovsk in September. That was when oblast deputies and representatives of the working class and the students went to "petition" Moscow. The delegation was headed by Oblispolkom Chairman E. Rossel.

They were received with understanding. Some 10 million standard cans of meat products and 3 million standard cans of fish products were allocated from state reserves.... Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov personally telephoned several regions to help the people from the Urals.... But these are just one-shot measures.

The government realized that, even with the general license, people in Sverdlovsk will still go hungry. After all, you cannot take a trip to Britain to exchange plutonium for butter!

That was when, in the course of heated arguments, they remembered the Uralvagonzavod's tanks....

Oblispolkom Chairman E. Rossel described the results of the trip to Moscow in a 45-minute program on Sverdlovsk Television. Let us listen to a tape recording held at the correspondent's office.

An excerpt: In reply to the anchorman's questions, E. Rossel said in particular: "Five percent is of course a lot. For our oblast, five percent represents 1.3 billion rubles. But the matter is more complex. The point is that ours is an unusual oblast, we have numerous defense industry sectors.... But I did have a very interesting conversation with Lev Alekseyevich Voronin. Maybe I am emotional and got somewhat carried away. I told him, this is how oblasts behave as regards meat deliveries, taking advantage of the fact that they are agricultural oblasts. But if we could eat iron, for example, we would of course be eating more than anyone else and would not be asking for anybody's help. Can we sell tanks, for example?"

[Anchorman] We do this at times.

[Rossel] Yes, and we get punished for it. Here is the most interesting point. The following statement was received: "Go ahead!" This means, find the buyers and then apply to the government. We wil give you permission to sell. We have already notified the Uralvagonzavod director accordingly so that he could immediately start looking for buyers. We will sell....

Let us leave the tape recorder aside.

It looks as if Lev Alekseyevich Voronin recalled the "state's prerogative" too late. It is of course possible to take the Sverdlovsk Oblispolkom to task for its excessive frankness and prohibit the Uralvagonzavod from pursuing its search for foreign partners. But people in Sverdlovsk will not retreat. They have nowhere to retreat to! In view of their 99-percent performance of state orders, people are entitled to expect enough food to eat.

There is no need to argue whether it is advantageous or not to exchange thousands of tonnes of aluminum for thousands of tonnes of meat. The exchange of aluminum for caustic soda or coal pitch is not advantageous, either. Strategic raw materials should be used to make strategic goods. Why should we not use our own aluminum to make good aircraft for our civil aviation? We are shipping aluminum abroad and buying aircraft there!

TASS has recently been displaying a clear servility to the government. The article "Tanks for Spaghetti?" spoke about the permission to trade in "part of the strategic raw materials and weapons, whose production occupies almost every other member of the oblast's workforce." These are the statistics the Sverdlovsk delegation took to the government. It can only be described as tragic if this was a revelation for the Council of Ministers. By trying to prove to people in Sverdlovsk that all is in order as regards their economy's infrastructure, the government and TASS are playing with fire. The oblast has for a long time been on the brink of an explosion. As a matter of fact, the Sverdlovsk people's threatening ultimatum is on the government's table: "No food—no work!" Should this happen, God forbid, the Council of Ministers will certainly have an opportunity to calculate losses, and at the same time to figure out who is employed where.

The center does not forgive "excessive" revelations even in the age of glasnost. The Sverdlovsk Oblispolkom's new chairman did not take this into account. But Eduard Rossel appeared on television with the best intentions: To report to the starving oblast on his business trip to Moscow. Mineworkers, machine builders, transportation workers, dairy industry workers are taking turns to strike in the oblast.... A general strike is just one step away! And what is the government doing, looking after the military?

Rossel Denies Arms Trading Claims

LD2810102890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1438 GMT 27 Oct 90

[By TASS special correspondents, Lev Aksenov and Nadezhda Potapova]

[Text] Sverdlovsk, Urals, 27 Oct (TASS)—In an interview with TASS correspondents today, Eduard Rossel, chairman of the executive committee of the Sverdlovsk Oblast soviet of people's deputies, denied claims made by several Soviet and foreign media sources that during meetings of representatives of the Sverdlovsk Oblast with President Mikhail Gorbachev and other leading figures, agreement was allegedly reached regarding the sale abroad of tanks produced in the oblast, with the revenues received from these deals to go to the people of the Sverdlovsk area.

"In actual fact, during the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev which took place on 16 October, the critical state of the supply of foodstuffs and consumer goods to those living in the Sverdlovsk Oblast was the subject of discussion," he notes in the interview. "In the light of the present-day economic difficulties the country is enduring, discipline over contract supplies has fallen sharply. Whole regions as well as individual enterprises which are bound to our oblast by contracts for the supply of products, are breaking their commitments with increasing frequency. As a result, Sverdlovsk Oblast—which has great industrial potential and which comes second in the country to Moscow in terms of the volume of its industrial production—cannot guarantee its residents all the necessities of life."

In so far as social tension in the oblast has grown, the session of its oblast soviet resolved to ask the country's leaders for assistance. The chairman of the executive committee announced that during the meetings of the USSR Council of Ministers and of the Russian Federation Government, the position of the representatives from Sverdlovsk met with understanding and support. Eduard Rossel noted that during the talks with Lev Voronin, deputy premier of the USSR Government, the possibility of selling foreign partners certain raw and processed materials which are also used in defense enterprises was discussed. Among these were aluminum, titanium sheet and tubing, rolled steel, and copper. The sale abroad of mineral fertilizers was also discussed. In the words of the chairman of the executive committee, permission was granted for the sale of specified consignments of these materials. A deal with China for deliveries of mineral fertilizers has already been signed, and an international corporation is to acquire aluminum for its branch in the FRG.

Eduard Rossel concluded by saying that his talks with the Soviet leaders in Moscow have already borne fruit. Dozens of trains carrying foodstuffs and manufactured goods are now arriving daily in the oblast.

Irkutsk Council Adopts Declaration of Equality

LD2610203190 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Khodiy]

[Text] Irkutsk October 26 TASS—The Council of People's Deputies of the Irkutsk region, Eastern Siberia, has adopted a declaration of the equality and independence of the region within the framework of the united Russian Federation. Before a federal treaty is concluded, the declaration proclaims the exclusive right of this vast region with the area of 768,000 square kilometres to owning, using and managing its land, mineral resources, forests, water resources, flora and fauna.

"The deputies took this step at the time when the Yakut and Buryat republics, as well as other autonomous entities proclaimed or are close to proclaiming the raising of their status, up to a union republic. The step was taken to protect the interests of the three-million-strong population of the region, including the native population—Buryats, Evenks and Tofalars," said Viktor Ignatenko, deputy chairman of the council. Specifically, before the federal treaty of Russia is signed, the declaration puts at the disposal of local executive authorities part of the goods produced in the region, including sawn timber, cellulose, aluminium, coal, liquid fuel, synthetic resin and so on.

By proclaiming the region an equal and independent subject of the federation, the council announced that the laws of Russia are valid on its territory. So far as law and other legislative acts of the Soviet Union are concerned, until the signing of a Union treaty they are valid only after the ratifcation in the order, established by the Russian parliament.

Gorno-Altay Proclaims Itself Autonomous Republic

PM2910163590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 3

[TASS report: "New Republic Appeared"]

[Text] Gorno-Altaysk, 25 Oct—After two days of stormy debate at an extraordinary session of the oblast soviet, the autonomous oblast has been transformed into the Gorno-Altay Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. Russian has been declared the state language on its territory.

The session also examined a draft statute on the special status of the Gorno-Altay ecological and economic zone. In accordance with it, it is proposed to create 10 ecological and economic zones in the Russian Federation. Gorno-Altay is the first of them. The session approved the draft and created a conciliation commission to finalize it with due regard for deputies' amendments and remarks, after which the draft will be submitted to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session for examination.

Kuybyshev Meeting Supports 'October' Ideals

LD2910003190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] A crowded meeting took place today in Kuybyshev in defense of the ideals of Lenin, October, and

socialism. Representatives of various public organizations, ethnic cultural centers, and the city's industrial enterprises took part in it following the appeal by the oblast council of war and labor veterans. Participants at the meeting decisively condemned the attempts of destructive forces to discredit the name and course of Lenin, and the bright ideals of october. They called upon all Kuybyshev Oblast working people—irrespective of age, education and political views—to make a personal contribution to building a democratic society on socialist principles.

Kuybyshev Oblast Elects New First Secretary

PM2710144990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by unidentified correspondent: "Obkom First Secretary Elected"]

[Text] Kuybyshev, 26 Oct—An oblast party conference completed its work here today. It discussed the oblast Communists' action program to implement the 28th CPSU Congress decisions.

An organizational matter was also examined. In a contested election V.S. Romanov, who formerly worked as deputy chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee, was elected first secretary of the oblast CPSU committee on a competitive basis.

The conference was addressed by A.N. Ilyin, second secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee.

Astrakhan Oblast Elects New First Secretary

91UN0124B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Chronicle of the Past Day": "A New First Secretary of the Astrakhan CPSU Obkom Has Been Elected"]

[Text] An organizational question was resolved yesterday at the Astrakhan CPSU Obkom [oblast party committee] plenum. Discussion of aspirants to the post of first secretary of the party obkom has been underway in the primary party organizations for two months. Sixteen candidates were nominated.

Three candidates were presented to the participants of the plenum; the rest withdrew their names for various reasons. As a result of secret voting G.A. Gorbunov, member of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee and RSFSR people's deputy, was elected first secretary of the obkom. He had been working as second secretary of the obkom.

Komi Supreme Soviet Session Reported

LD2710010490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by unidentified correspondent from Syktyvkar on the Komi Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Session]

[Excerpt] All sorts of views were expressed by deputies on the main directions for a transition to the market devised by the president. They reached the conclusion that they presuppose independence of action. A law on property was adopted in its first reading. Unlike the Union law, it allows for private property with the use of hired labor as well as ownership by foreign capital. A new committee for foreign economy activity has been set up and a number of amendments were made to the republic's constitution. It was decided that some issues connected with the switch to the market should be examined in November. [passage omitted]

Vladivostok Kray Holds Party Conference

LD2710205890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] There was a kray party conference in Vladivostok today attended by Comrade Semenova, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrade Golvizin, first secretary of the kray committee delivered a report. The delegates who spoke noted with concern that against the background of various informal movements stepping up their activities, the party committees have not yet adopted a combative position. There is a well planned campaign to destabilize the social and political situation, but the Communists prefer not to get involved. The congress supported the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress and the founding congress of he Communist Party of Russia.

The tasks of the kray's Communists for 1990-91 were all set out in the political position adopted by a majority of votes.

Magadan City Party Leader Offers Resignation

LD2810181790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Our Magadan correspondent has reported the resignation of (Viktor Vechkanov), first secretary of Magadan city party committee. In a statement at a plenary meeting of the city party commitee, he stated that he was disenchanted with perestroyka and had lost faith in the improvement of people's lives with the transition to market relations. He frankly admitted that he no longer knows where to lead Communists. (Viktor Vechkanov) stated that he would remain in the party as a rank-and-file member.

Our correspondent reports that there was also dismay among Communists at a plenum of the oblast party committee. Figures were read out that plunged its participants

into despondency. Over the last nine months of this year alone, 4,160 people had left the ranks of the CPSU.

Izhevsk Communists Publish New Newspaper

PM2910170590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by A. Artamonov: "Newspaper With No... Name"]

[Text] Izhevsk—An unfamiliar brightly laid-out 12-page paper has appeared in "Soyuzpechat" kiosks. It has a question mark instead of a name. This is how the newspaper of Izhevsk's Communists has begun its existence.

Its main topics are: a chronicle of the city party organization, Communists in the soviets, political dialogue, a report from a mass rally of democratic forces, and material about preparations for the 70th anniversary of the republic's autonomy.

The newspaper meets a need, though it is not without its shortcomings. But what is the point of the gimmicky masthead? After all, people, books, and newspapers always have a name.

Western Republics

Coverage of Crisis Situation in Gagauz Region

Troops Stabilizing Situation

PM3010134590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Dispatch by correspondent A. Pasechnik: "Steps Toward Dialogue"]

[Excerpts] Kishinev, 29 Oct—"The situation in South Moldova [Moldavia] remains tense"—this phrase, repeated by all the mass media, is filled with new shades of meaning every day. In the flow of reports reaching the correspondents' center I should of course like to highlight those which contain at least a proportion of optimism.

By this morning it had become clear that the introduction of USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troops into the emergency situation zone is stabilizing the situation. This was particularly stressed by L. Gorshkov, a member of the country's Supreme Soviet commission for nationalities policy and interethnic relations, who is in the south of the republic, when he spoke on national radio. In this situation it must be hoped that talks between the antagonistic sides will proceed more constructively. The first steps are already being taken in this direction. [passage omitted]

National radio reported this morning that Moldavian volunteer detachments have begun to be withdrawn from the no-go areas of the emergency situation zone.

"The main thing now," I. Chubuk, deputy chairman of the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet provisional committee for implementing the emergency situation regime, said by telephone from Chimishliya, "is to direct all efforts for a peaceful settlement of such an explosive conflict. We must retain restraint and calm without succumbing to emotions, and resolve all questions in a spirit of legality and mutual respect and ensure the normal functioning of the entire national economic complex. I would address this appeal or if you like wish in particular to the separatists who are striving to put their own political ambitions above the interests of simple people. But these people want one thing: to live in peace and harmony and to work calmly." [passage omitted]

Moldavia Expels Gagauz Deputies

LD3010105490 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Kishinev October 30 TASS—The Moldavian parliament has announced the expulsion of 10 of the 13 deputies representing the Gagauz people (Christian Turks populating southern Moldavia).

The ten include members of the Interim Committee—the ruling body of the newly-declared Gagauz republic—Stepan Topal, Mikhail Kendigelyan, Konstantin Taushanzhiy and Georgiy Kalchu.

The parliament said the deputies shunned parliamentary sessions, ignored parliamentary laws and resolutions, provoked citizens to violate Moldavian laws and organised general elections in the Gagauz republic.

Ethnic tensions in Moldavia, a republic in south-western USSR, were spawned by the declaration of sovereignty by the Gagauz republic. The Moldavian parliament declared the move unconstitutional.

A state of emergency has been declared in the Gagauz area and Soviet Interior Ministry troops have been deployed there.

Situation 'Calm'

LD3010123190 Moscow TASS in English 1147 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Fyodor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev October 30 TASS—Last night was calm in the zone of the emergency situation in southern Moldavia. Troops of the USSR Interior Ministry control the situation. In Gagauz villages children went to school. Enterprises resumed work. Meanwhile telephone services with southern districts are disrupted, which evokes a sharp protest of broad public.

Many foreign correspondents arrived in Kishinev, but the entry to the districts populated by Gagauz is barred

to them, jurt as to Soviet journalists. Moldavian officials explain this by saying that units of Moldavian police have not been brought into these districts, and that thousands of workers from the Dniester reaches have not yet been withdrawn from district centres Komrat and Chadyr- Lunga.

'Excesses' in Other Towns

LD3010140390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 30 Oct 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The hottest news comes from Moldavia where the Gagauz of Komrat are continuing their blockade. Troops and volunteers of the Dnestr region who have been allowed inside the besieged zone are holding the defense alongside them. Meanwhile, the Moldavian volunteers have not been able to penetrate it and, as we have been told by telephone by a spokesman of the republic's Intermovement, they are committing excesses in Kagul, Ungeny, and Kishenev, destroying Communist Party rayon committees, burning documents, bringing down Lenin monuments, and beating up people. We are expecting more detailed information later. For the present I can only add that the Moldavian Supreme Soviet has deprived 10 people's deputies from the Gagauz of their deputies' authority. The official reason is their nonparticipation in parliamentary work.

Talks With Gagauz Continue

LD3010171290 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev October 30 TASS—The congress of people's deputies of all levels, reprsenting the Turkic Christian Gagauz population of Moldavia's south, continues its work in Komrat. The congress is expected to adopt an appeal to all peoples of Moldavia.

Talks continue here between chairman of the Moldavian parliament's provisional committee for implementing the state of emergency Andrey Sangeli and representatives of the Gagauyz provisional committee. The talks are also being attended by commander of the Soviet Interior Ministry's troops Colonel-General Yuriy Shatalin.

In the past two days, serious difficulties appeared due to the arrival of workers' units from the Dniester region and the Gagauz objection to sending Moldavian police units into Komrat and other settlements. Workers from the Dnester region have just left Komrat.

Moldavian Paper Ceases Publication Due to Strike

91P50016A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 19 Oct 90 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Journalists' Strike"]

[Text] A strike of the newspaper MOLODEZH MOLDAVII continues, with its last issue dated 18 September. Publication of the paper ceased after a group of readers broke into the editorial office and, under the threat of physical reprisal to the journalists and their family members, ordered them [journalists] not only to "change their tone" but to apologize to the prime minister of the republic for publishing a photograph in which he was portrayed in a pose characteristic of Adolph Hitler.

Wednesday evening in Kishinev the fifth floor of the building housing the press offices was consumed by fire. The buildings of the editorial offices of the weekly FAKEL [TORCH] and also, as was already reported, the offices of the suspended newspaper publication MOLODEZH MOLDAVII are located here.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Discuss Market Programs

LD2910192990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] At the session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, two programs for the republic's transition to the market have been submitted for the deputies to examine. The government program, which is divided into stages, envisages a mechanism of destatisation, privatization, and other obligatory measures, as well as the unconditional introduction of the republic's own monetary unit. The alternative program submitted by a commission of deputies is also in favor of introducing a monetary unit of its own, but in a more radical way, right up to refusing to recognize any Union property in the Ukraine. The examination of these programs has been postponed for the time being. At the moment, discussion of three candidates for the post of chairman of the republican Council of Ministers is underway. The issue of the republican government's decision on introducing consumer coupons in the Ukraine to replace money, in part, was added to the agenda. Some deputies regard this decision as unacceptable.

Rukh Leader Blames Communism for Ukraine's Ills

LD2910160590 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] The second all-Ukrainian assembly of the People's Movement of the Ukraine [Rukh] continues in Kiev. Ivan Drach, author and chairman of Rukh, in a report blamed communist ideology and Russian chauvinism for the Ukrainian people's misfortunes. It was proposed to exclude the words for perestroyka from the name of the organization. Rukh will work to restore state sovereignty to the Ukraine and create a democratic parliamentary republic by nonviolent means. According to the INTERFAX correspondent, it seems that formation of the political opposition, which openly makes a statement about an alternative path for the republic's development, is being completed in the Ukraine.

Ukrainian Paper Cited on Hunger Strike

PM2510121990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Abridged account of PRAVDA UKRAINY editorial article: "Let Us Look Truth in the Eyes"]

[Text] The republic's mass media are continuing to analyze the events of recent days in the Ukraine's political life. PRAVDA UKRAINY has published a long editorial article entitled "Let Us Look Truth in the Eyes," accompanying it with the subhead "On Events in Connection with the Students' Hunger Strike in Kiev." Our Kiev correspondent reports that it says in particular:

Today it is probably impossible to find someone in the Ukraine who is indifferent to an event which is unusual and incomprehensible to us—the students' hunger strike in the very center of Kiev. Those taking part have made five now widely known demands of the Supreme Soviet.

The action by a group of young people from many Ukrainian cities, the newspaper writes, has profoundly moved the republic's public. There have been calls to display political wisdom, to use all possible means to end the hunger strike threatening the health of tens of young men and women.

It may be said in brief that the hunger strike is an act of civil disobedience. For many countries it is almost an ordinary matter. From press, television, and radio reports we know that such actions have been organized against the arms race and the deployment of nuclear weapons, against environmental pollution and the construction of nuclear electric power stations, and so forth. That is mainly there have been entirely specific issues. As is well known, the students have also made demands. But not one of these demands directly affected their lives, except for the conditions of service in the army. The action was obviously of a political nature and was implemented with a view to exerting crude strong-arm pressure on parliament.

It is entirely obvious, the newspaper continues, that the interests of a broader spectrum of political forces stand behind all this. It is easy to be convinced of this if only from the following example. He who has attentively observed events cannot have failed to notice the nearly complete textual coincidence of the demands of the students of the so-called republican strike committee and the extreme radical section of people's deputies from the "democratic bloc."

Actually, there have been no special efforts to conceal this connection. The act of civil disobedience and the hunger strike were discussed at meetings in which these people's deputies took part. The leaflet distributed by the RUKH [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] and the Ukrainian Republican Party said: "... We urge you to stop studying, announce a strike, hold meetings, and adopt resolutions in support of the hunger strikers' demands." There was also a collection of funds for all these actions.

There have been days, the article continues, when it became obvious that the impressive youth action is exhausting itself. But it has been precisely then that the hunger strikers have been joined by a group of Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies from the People's Rada [council], whereby it openly exerted additional psychological pressure on the exhausted inhabitants of the tent city and gave evidence of its political interest in this action.

Many Kiev inhabitants, the newspaper continues, were angered by the stance of the Kiev Soviet presidium, a number of whose members, guided more by their own political ambitions than by the law, embarked on the path of conniving with or event directly supporting the illegal actions of various public associations. The point is that the city soviet leadership, obviously exceeding its powers, gave permission for a students' demonstration next to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, counter to the parliament's direct decision on this question.

Let us stress that the illegal actions in Kiev have been carried out mainly by groups of young people who have come in, mostly from the republic's Western oblasts. And the teachers and students of Kiev's higher educational establishments quite reasonably asked: Where is the law, who will defend them against tyranny?

The point is, PRAVDA UKRAINY continues, that it is the young men and women who have come in from outside who have launched the most tumultuous activity in the city, boldly disrupting public order and law. Thus on 15 October, under cover of calls for solidarity with the hunger strikers, they seized a Kiev State University building and announced an "occupation strike." There were attempts to seize Kiev's Gorkiy pedagogical institute.

Failing to find support in the majority of higher educational establishments, the organizers of the "occupation strikes" went to schools, academies, and technical colleges to exploit the students' lack of experience and draw them into their own illegal actions.

Meetings were constantly held next to the tents, the newspaper stresses. Posters, drawings, and printed materials which not only had an anticommunist orientation but also in fact belittled the dignity of the Ukrainian people were brought in here. One participant in a direct television broadcast 15 October reported that in the camp there were six young men who had left their military units. Ukrainian SSR People's Deputies S. Khmara, Ya. Zayko, M. Kuzemko, and others have used the students' hunger strike to implement their own political ambitions. A number of speeches by deputies representing the People's Rada at the Supreme Soviet session and at meetings essentially approved any methods of struggle and incitement to the violent overthrow of the existing state system.

So the young people's action has been conducted in a spirit of direct diktat and strong-arm pressure. An explanation of this should obviously be sought in the position of those who inspired and gave advice to those taking part.

It is important, the newspaper states, to ascertain what ideological positions have been taken by the participants in this noisy action, by its organizers. They manifested themselves particularly during the 15 October direct television broadcast.

Every unprejudiced person saw that instead of an analysis of the specific facts of life in higher educational establishments or for young people in general, the participants in the television broadcast resorted to the frequent repetition of stereotypes adopted at meetings. Many people were struck by the direct, unsubstantiated accusations against the CPSU, the Ukrainian Communist Party, and the Communist deputies, by the talk of dissolving the party and of a "Nuernberg trial" for it, and by calls to confiscate the CPSU's property without any legal justification and to "share it between the other parties." The claim that "the Bandera supporters were never the Germans' henchmen," despite well known facts and the evidence of the fascists themselves, cannot fail to give rise to objections.

Today, PRAVDA UKRAINY continues, there is a lot of talk about who won this conflict. We shall not argue. There really is a victory. Common sense won.

But there are also the vanquished. They cannot be seen that clearly under the conditions of the anticommunist forces' euphoria today. Their defeat is that today the people have seen clearly who is anxious for power and what methods of "social management" they are bringing.

The meeting about ending the hunger strike, the newspaper writes, was addressed mainly by the students' "instructors," including several of the republic's people's deputies.

What did they call for? "A Ukrainian government without Communists. Soviets without Communists" (S. Khmara); "Purge the higher educational establishments, technical colleges, and schools of communist elements" (A. Shevchenko), and so forth.

Here we have finally seen the principles of their "democracy" in its bare form. There was a time when the people saw enough of such "purgers" with swastikas on their sleeves.

I think that these "instructors" are the originators of the apologetics for the Bandera movement—one of the main motives in the work which the agitators performed around the hunger strikers' camp.

And these people want to seize power in the republic! What can our people expect from them? Nothing but a dictatorship. "Our power should be terrible"—this concept of their ideologist and idol is well known: wells filled with the mutilated bodies of young teachers and babies.

Today the "democrats" of the Western oblasts have already managed to establish a monument to this butcher in the village where he was born.

In recent days, the article says in conclusion, representatives of Rukh and the parties which have arisen under its roof have no longer even been concealing their involvement with the organization of the hunger strike. This was stated at a press conference by I. Drach and was mentioned at a meeting by M. Goryn. The shameful and cynical thrust of the opposition's policy has thus been fully revealed.

It is a good thing that the majority persecuted by the "Democrats" has had the patience and wisdom to embark on a sensible compromis and thus avoid tragic consequences, but who can guarantee that something similar will not be repeated if the opposition uses such immoral means? After all, in recent days there have been threats and elderly women have been sent to break through militia chains and have then been trampled underfoot and there have been direct calls to continue the hunger strike and other similar acts of blackmail. "This is only the beginning, the overture," S. Khmara said complacently at a meeting.

But can we allow all this, PRAVDA UKRAINY concludes, is it not time to put an end to the adventures?

New Ternopol Oblast Newspaper Published

LD2910121390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] The first edition of the people's newspaper VOZROZHDENIYE was published today by the Ternopol Oblast soviet of people's deputies. The greater part of it will be dedicated to discussing the kray's most acute economic and social development problems and its historical past. The newspaper will contribute to consolidating various strata of the population on a democratic basis and promote a spiritual revival of the Ukrainian nation, its culture, and its original traditions and customs.

Belorussian Minister Cited at United Nations

PM3010095190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 5

[Report by A. Shalnev: "Belorussia Makes Proposals"]

[Excerpt] New York—Speaking on Tuesday at a UN Genereal Assembly session, Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko, on behalf of his republic, suggested creating a nuclear-free belt which would in the long term encompass Belorussia, the Ukraine, and the Baltic republics, and to which "the Central European countries could accede if they so desired."

According to the minister, "we are clearly aware that the attainment of nuclear-free status for the Belorussian SSR affects the strategic interests of many sides and requires

a responsible and balanced approach." As I understood from a talk with Petr Kravchenko, the creation of such a zone presupposes the closure of nuclear electric power stations and the elimination of military bases with nuclear weapons. But the minister stressed—both in his speech at the session and in his talk with me—that, as he put it, "foolhardiness is intolerable," that "there is complex and prolonged work ahead geared not to one year but to a decade," and that "we shall advance in a cautious and balanced way." [passage omitted]

Kravchenko Cited on Effects of Chernobyl Disaster

PM2610123990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 90 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by correspondent V. Linnik: "Star Called 'Wormwood'"]

[Text] New York—Yesterday's event—"discussion of the IAEA report"—was number 14 on the UN General Assembly agenda. It is not surprising that the speech by Belorussian Foreign Minister P.K. Kravchenko during the debates on the report acquired special significance.

Belorussia, he said in his speech, received 70 percent of the discharge of radionuclides from Chernobyl. They "seized hold" of one-third of its territory. One-fifth of the entire population, that is 2.2 million people, nearly 800,000 of them children, became "hostages" to the harmful effects of radiation.

Slavonic languages have the word "chernobyl" meaning wormwood, a bitter grass which in a surprising way is associated with the Chernobyl tragedy, the Belorussian minister said.

The firestorm of World War II took the lives of every fourth inhabitant of the republic. For Belorussia Chernobyl has become a 20th century Golgotha, a grave new trial for the Belorussian people.

A special danger lies in the damage to children's thyroid glands. Already in the southern regions of Belorussia, disease of the thyroid has on average doubled. In the zones affected by radiation, anemia has increased seven to eight times, chronic illness of the nasopharynx has increased tenfold, and the number of congenital defects in newborns has increased 50 to 100 percent.

Belorussia would suppose it to be expedient to create on its territory an international center for the study of as yet unknown radiation and ecological problems and a review of the decision taking procedure in the IAEA on granting special aid to states in the event of transborder nuclear damage and also to institute a special voluntary "Chernobyl" fund to finance relevant international cooperation and aid programs.

The republic, the Belorussian minister stated in conclusion, would also suggest that it is expedient to adopt at the 45th UN General Assembly session a resolution reflecting an understanding of the planetary nature of the catastrophe which has occurred and formulating specific UN steps to mitigate and reduce the global and local consequences of Chernobyl. We also suggest declaring 26 April—the day the Chernobyl accident occurred—an International Day for the Prevention of Nuclear and Other Industrial Accidents.

Immediately after the Belorussian representative's speech I talked with H. Blix, director of the IAEA. "I have first hand knowledge of what the minister was describing," he said. "I have just returned from Belorussia where I saw with my own eyes the serious psychological problems and anxiety of the inhabitants and saw the need for aid to Belorussia. The IAEA is doing its utmost to help Belorussia. About 100 experts are working voluntarily in the republic. In conjunction with other organizations we are now preparing an all-embracing report with an assessment of the radiation situation and our recommendations."

"What is your attitude toward helping Belorussia within the UN framework?"

"When a request for aid is made in the United Nations, complaints are inevitable from the developing countries, which are afraid of losing their share of the funds allocated to them. After all there are criteria for granting such aid, in particular the volume of GNP per capita."

"Will the report the IAEA is preparing provide additional arguments in favor of granting aid to Belorussia?"

"We shall wait for the report to appear. We must ascertain reliably whether the cases of increase in morbidity are explained by the radiation situation or simply by closer observations and studies in recent years. For instance, the appearance of a calf with two heads would seem an irrefutable argument that mutation processes are there. But similar calves also appear in Argentina."

Caucasus

Coverage of Georgian 28 Oct Election Campaign

Election Official Views Contest

LD2610235790 Moscow TASS in English 1938 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by TASS special correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi October 26 TASS—"Parliamentary elections in Georgia (a Soviet Transcaucasian republic), scheduled for October 28, will become an important landmark on the way to attaining genuine political and economic sovereignty by the Georgian people", said Irakli Zhordania, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for elections to the republican parliament.

He stressed in a TASS interview that, for the first time in Soviet practice, these elections will be held on a multi-party basis, in accordance with a mixed majoritarian system. Zhordania believes that "this will enable the

Georgian people to make their choice on a truly democratic basis". Eleven political parties and party blocs were permitted to take part in the elections. Previously fourteen parties were registered. However, the central electoral commission crossed out from the electoral list three political organisations for the violation of the law on elections, including the Stalin Society. The violation consisted in nominating candidates, who were also members of other parties, which is strictly forbidden by the law, Zhordania said.

The commission had to tackle numerous organising problems, he continued. Most of them emerged as a result of the fact that two months are too short a time for preparing the elections. However, all those problems were resolved, and now one can be confident that the voting will be held on a proper level. Responding to a TASS question, Zhordania stressed that no cases of an open violation of rules, that regulate the conducting of an electoral campaign, had been registered. However, two days ago unidentified people fired from automatic weapons at the house of Falerian Avadze, leader of the Accord, Peace, Revival Electoral Bloc. This is regarded as a gross provocation aimed at hampering the voting.

Zhordania said that official representatives of French, British, American, Belgian, Swedish and Irish parliaments would act as observers at elections. They have already come to Georgia. Representatives of the Baltic republics, the Russian Federation and the Ukraine were also invited.

According to the law, the results of the voting will be made public five days after the closure of polling stations.

Party Chief Views Elections

LD2710132590 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Report by TASS special correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi October 27 TASS—Georgian Communist Party chief and president of the republic Givi Gumbaridze described the elections to the Georgian parliament, scheduled to be held on October 28, as a turning point in the socio-political life in the republic, in the very thought patterns of the Georgian people.

In a TASS interview, Gumbaridze emphasised that the Georgian Communist Party was and remains one of the most consistent supporters of the democratic renewal of society and, within the framework of this renewal, has already proved in practice its readiness to take bold steps, rejecting conservative stereotypes. It does not preserve for itself any political or constitutional privileges or advantages.

Gumbaridze said that it was exactly the Communist Party which, using the right to a legislative initiative, put forward a proposal in the republican parliament that articles in the constitution of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], which seal its monopoly position in society, be revised.

Gumbaridze thinks that socio-political compromises, ethnic accord and the integrity of Georgia can be ensured and separatist manifestations, ambitions and political selfishness be overcome only if the Communist Party plays a guiding role in society.

The Communist Party is, possibly, the only force with enough experience and authority to bring to an end, relatively painlessly, the dismantling of old structures and form new flexible and mobile setups matching the society's rapidly changing requirements, Gumbaridze said.

To this end, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has developed and endorsed jointly with public at large, specialists and eminent intellects, workers and farmers a plan of national development.

Appraising the political situation in Georgia in the run-up to the elections, Gumbaridze noted that there were forces in the republic which were eager to aggravate the situation. These are those who notice that the scale is tipped not in their favour. They do not enjoy strong support.

The election battle is underway. Tough competition is felt. All this takes place within the generally accepted and democratic frameworks. The conditions for the holding of the elections guarantee full freedom to electors and their impartiality, Gumbaridze emphasised.

Speaking about the possibility for the Communist Party to win the elections, Gumbaridze said that he would not like to anticipate the events. At the same time, he noted that the Georgian Communist Party, having redefined many of its programm objectives, forms and methods of work and proclaimed independence, has gained quite a few new and sincere supporters.

Gumbaridze emphasised that Communists favoured any forms of cooperation and consolidation. "joint responsibility and it alone can ensure genuine national accord", he stressed.

Elections Held Without Incident

AU2910160590 Paris AFP in English 1538 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, Oct 29 (AFP)—Legislative elections in the Soviet Republic of Georgia on Sunday passed off without incident, the electoral commission said Monday.

An official from the electoral commission, interviewed by telephone, said final results would be known "in about five days." The official, who spoke on condition he not be named, said although voter participation in the capital, Tbilisi, was about 80 per cent, participation levels were not known for the rest of Georgia.

He said that in the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic two electoral districts totally boycotted the election. "In the rest of Abkhaziya everything went ahead normally," he added.

Abkhaziya, in the north-west corner of Georgia, has a population of 525,000, of whom only 17.1 per cent are Abkhazians, 44 per cent are Georgian and 16 per cent are Russian.

The candidates from 13 parties or coalitions were standing for 250 seats in the Georgian parliament. Apart from the Communist Party, all others were nationalist parties struggling for Georgian independence using different strategies.

The main opposition parties are the "Round Table-Free Georgia," a coalition led by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the Popular Front led by Nodar Natadze, the liberal-democratic Rustaveli led by Akaki Bakhadze and the Freedom Bloc led by Irakli Shenguelaia [names as received].

'Free-Georgia' Party Leading

LD2910191990 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Report by TASS special correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi October 29 TASS—The "Round-Table-Free Georgia" opposition bloc is emerging as a leading political force in this Transcaucasian republic, according to unofficial results from the October 28 elections to the Georgian parliament.

The "Roundtable" scored victories in 34 out of 125 districts. The Communist Party won in 22 constituencies. One deputy from the Georgian Popular Front won a seat. Run-off elections will be held in the remaining districts as no one has received more than 50 percent of the vote. Results are still pending from the vote on republic-wide party ballots, which will name the remaining 125 deputies.

Parliamentary elections in Georgia were held for the first time on a multi-party basis, using the mixed majority and proportional system. This means that half of 250 deputies will be elected from constituencies and the other from the republic-wide party tickets, drawn on the basis of equal representation.

Official voting results in Georgia are expected to be made public five days after the vote.

Georgian National Congress Holds First Meeting

LD2710184490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Georgiy Kordzadze]

[Text] Tbilisi, 26 Oct (TASS)—The first meeting of the National Congress of Georgia, a Transcaucasian republic, was held in the Republic capital today. The congressmen swore allegiance to the ideals of the Republic's national liberation movement.

Speakers at the first session of the congress included representatives of all the political blocs and parties that took part in the last elections. Some speakers called for cooperation with the future legislature of the Republic which will emerge as a result of elections to be held on 28 October.

The National Congress adopted an appeal to the Georgian nation and to democratic public opinion throughout the world. It also adopted a resolution on the elections to the Republic's Supreme Soviet—which says, in particular, that the congress will not impede the holding of the elections, even though it still believes that the Supreme Soviet to be elected on 28 October cannot be representative of the Georgian people as a whole.

South Ossetian Status Deemed 'Unconstitutional'

PM3010145590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[PRAVDA-TASS-INTERFAX roundup report: "Tbilisi"]

[Text] G. Gumbaridze, chairman of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Prime Minister N. Chitanava have met with representatives of the public of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. A ruling by the USSR Supreme Soviet signed by R. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, was read out at the meeting. The document notes that the South Ossetian Oblast was transformed into the South Ossetian Democratic Republic by decision of the 14th Session of the South Ossetian Soviet of 20th September. The ruling points out that this is unconstitutional.

One Militiaman, Two Gunmen Killed in Yerevan

LD3010171890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, 30 Oct (TASS)—The situation in Armenia remains tense. As the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center told a TASS correspondent, in Yerevan today while detaining motor vehicles with armed criminals, the head of the city's Soviet District Department of Internal Affairs, Lieutenant Colonel Andrfeyasyan, was killed by a shot from a firearm. His deputy, Militia Major Minasyan, was wounded.

One of the criminals was killed by the flying squad's return fire and another died in hospital. A third accomplice in the crime was detained. He turned out to be a third-year student at Yerevan Polytechnical Institute, named Zargaryan. An investigation is being carried out into the incident.

As the press center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Armenia reported, a group of armed persons attacked a sheep-breeding farm in the village of Khndzoresk, in the Gorisskiy rayon of Armenia. Having opened automatic fire, the attackers killed four shepherds from that village. Eight hundred sheep were driven towards the Kubatlinksiy rayon of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

Coverage of Armenian Supreme Soviet Proceedings

Shepards' Killing Discussed

NC3010132690 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] The deputies of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet met in full session after a week's intermission. The standing commissions of the legislature were working during that period preparing bills on various subjects. One of those, the bill on ownership, is scheduled to be debated this week during the legislature's two-day session. The deputies will also take up the issue of completing the composition of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers and other current issues, in particular the killing of four Armenian shepherds in Gorisskiy Rayon. A special commission will study that incident, Deputy Chairman Gagik Arutyunyan said in opening the parliament's morning session.

Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Republic's Council of Ministers, presented the government's proposal on restructuring the educational and scientific systems. According to this proposal, a new ministry encompassing the present Education Ministry and the research institutes of the Academy [of Sciences] should be established to solve the problems related with the primary schools, and a committee should be set up to integrate the activities of the higher educational and scientific institutes.

Many questions were raised on this proposal. The debate centered on the principles concerning the structure of the new ministry and committee and on their names. Finally, the parliament in principle gave its consent to the government's proposal and voted to register its consent. The names of the new ministry and of the committee will be finalized later.

Next, the deputies discussed the completion of the composition of the Council of Ministers. They debated the nominations for the Education and Justice Ministries.

Dear compatriots, we will inform you about the decisions of the session during our broadcasts in the coming days.

New Appointments Reported

NC3010134190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 30 Oct 90

[From the review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN]

[Excerpts] The first session of the first convocation of the Armenian republic's Supreme Soviet met yesterday. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan nominated Ktrich Sardaryan, a deputy at the republic's Supreme Soviet, for the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Vae Stepanyan for the post of justice minister; and Ruben Chiftalaryan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the post of first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The session voted to confirm Sardaryan and Stepanyan to the posts nominated. During the evening session the deputies also voted to confirm Chiftalaryan as the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The session will continue its deliberations.

Resolution on Armenian Deserters

PM2910111190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Bablumyan: "Will Soldiers Complete Their Service in Armenia?"]

[Text] Yerevan—The Armenian Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution determining the further fate of the servicemen of Soviet Armenia forced to leave units stationed outside Armenian territory.

Analyzing the reasons which compelled them to leave their places of service, the deputies cited primarily conflicts on interethnic grounds, nonstatutory relations in the Army, and the grave consequences of the earthquake in Armenia as well as the desire to take part in their elimination.

Proceeding from the situation which has taken shape, the Armenian Supreme Soviet instructed the republic's Council of Ministers over the next two months to resolve all questions connected with the return of servicemen to serve the remainder of their term in units stationed on Armenian territory.

Armenia's Ter-Petrosyan Discusses U.S. Visit

91US0052B Yerevan GOLOS ARMENII in Russian 11 Oct 90 p 1

[Report on interview with L. Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, in Moscow on 8 October "on his way to Yerevan from a trip to the United States" by INTERFAX correspondents R. Abdullin and A. Arushanov: "Levon Ter-Petrosyan: Confrontation Has Exhausted Itself"]

[Text] [GOLOS ARMENII] First of all, we would like to learn about the results of your trip to the United States.

[Ter-Petrosyan] My visit did not have any practical goals. It had a deeply political significance, in the first place as a manifestation of the sovereignty of the republic, as a break in its political isolation, and as the beginning of an independent foreign policy; in the second place it coordinated our efforts with the Armenian diaspora in the matter of building a new Armenian state.

[GOLOS ARMENII] What kind of problems were raised in the course of meetings with representatives of Congress and the administration?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Basically these meetings had the goal of presenting the point of view of the leadership of Armenia as a sovereign republic with regard to its future and the

reality that is taking place today in the Soviet Union. I wanted to show that very substantial ch nges are taking place in the Soviet Union, that real ower is passing from the Center to the republics, and that U.S. policy should be reoriented in accordance with these changes.

I sensed the concern of those I talked to with regard to the development of processes in the USSR. The Americans still do not have a defined position with regard to the republics belonging to the USSR, with the exception of the Baltic republics. The status of the Baltic republics is viewed quite differently because their occupation in 1940 was not recognized by the world community. As for the other republics, the Americans are much more restrained and careful and are waiting for the status of the Center and the republics to be defined in the USSR.

[GOLOS ARMENII] You mentioned that in the course of contacts with American officials and people, you talked about the future of Armenia as well as the problems of relations between the Center and the republics. With regard to this, we would like to learn your opinion concerning the idea of a new Union treaty.

[Ter-Petrosyan] In this case not everything depends on Armenia. The future development of the Soviet Union depends on many factors. As a result the Declaration of Independence adopted by our parliament had an undefined form. It did not clearly say whether we are presently seceding from the USSR or remaining a member. We believe that independence is not a one-time act; it is a process, as the example of the Baltic republics has shown.

As for our goals, we are trying to achieve full political and economic independence. But we need to undergo a certain journey for that. Some types of unions are possible on that journey, but not the form in which the USSR exists today. We see the EC as the ideal form for the Soviet Union; each country enjoys full independence and the central organs only have consultative significance.

To put it concretely, we do not rule out the possibility of concluding a new Union treaty under the condition that there will be no new all-Union Constitution, Union legislature, or Union Government. These are superfluous organs.

[GOLOS ARMENII] How are relations between the republic's authorities and the servicemen who are in Armenia?

[Ter-Petrosyan] We have very good relations with the Army. The Army's leadership is content not to interfere in the internal affairs of the republic and to see that conflicts do not arise between the Army and the people. It welcomes the fact that we are conducting all operations to stabilize the situation in Armenia using our own forces.

[GOLOS ARMENII] The most delicate issue today is the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh and relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Are there long-term plans for settling the conflict?

[Ter-Petrosyan] The position of the leadership of Armenia is very clear. The strategy of confrontation that was conducted by both sides has exhausted itself. Today we need to move to a strategy of compromise, political concessions, and political dialogue. We have come out with this initiative. At the very beginning of my work as chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, I stated that we are prepared to sit down at the negotiation table with Azerbaijan. I have had a telephone conversation with Ayaz Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan. Later we met in Moscow in the presence of Mikhail Gorbachev. So there is a basis for compromises.

The problem of Karabakh is a very serious one for both Armenia and Azerbaijan. Both republics are worried about it, and this gives us reason to suppose that both parties are interested in a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The restoration of a legal authority in Karabakh and a guarantee of normal vital functions for the people of Nagornyy Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] may serve as the starting point for a compromise. A normal life in NKAO must first be restored.

Armenia Bans Consumer Goods, Medicine Export

NC3010131390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 30 Oct 90

[From the review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN]

[Text] On its (?third) page the paper published the (?26) October decision of the Armenian Council of Ministers. The Armenian Council of Ministers points out that the tension in the republic's consumer market during 1990 was due mainly to the export of consumer and nonconsumer goods from the Republic by the state and cooperative organizations and by individuals.

To improve the services to the republic's population and to be able to establish mutually advantageous economic relations with the other Soviet republics, the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers decides to prohibit all the [word indistinct], enterprises, and organizations—including cooperatives—based on the Armenian territory from exporting any kind of foodstuffs, medicines, or local building materials from the republic, with the exception of the direct supplies between the republics.

CPSU's Shenin Comments on Transcaucasus Issue

91US0041A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 41, 13 Oct 90 p 8

[Interview with Oleg Shenin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by correspondent I. Verdiyan: "'I Am Optimistic About Armenia'"]

[Text] Republic of Armenia—[Verdiyan] So, stage one of the 19th Communist Party of Armenia Congress is over. How do you view its preliminary results?

[Shenin] The congress cannot be viewed in isolation from the general political and economic situation in the

country and the republic, thus the intensity and high emotional content of the forum of Armenian Communists. Who could remain indifferent to the problems of Nagornyy Karabakh, the blockade of Armenia on the part of a neighboring republic...,.. But—and this is very gratifying—the congress ultimately analyzed the situation in the Communist Party of Armenia in sufficient depth, and in my view adopted a correct position.

The most important outcome was that the main directions of the program of the republic Communist Party were adopted as a basis by an absolute majority—only 44 of the 457 votes were against. The former stipulates that the Communist Party of Armenia is an independent republic party organization within the CPSU....

[Verdiyan] However, Oleg Semenovich, there are forces within the Communist Party of Armenia that aspire to separation from the CPSU. Does not the possibility of the withdrawal from the CPSU of its Armenian detachment embarrass you? Do you allow, say, a Lithuanian version of the development of events?

[Shenin] The congress adopted a correct position in deciding to put to a party-wide referendum questions on the status of the Communist Party and its name. Account should undoubtedly be taken of the opinion of all Communists—it is this that would make the conscious choice valuable.

How serious, as you put it, is the Lithuanian version of development? Such a possibility cannot I believe be ruled out. The mood in the republic's party organizations is quite varied. This is why I would not discount a possible severing of relations either.

[Verdiyan] Albeit unambiguous, you were somewhat vague at the congress about the time frame for the restoration of Soviet power and the party structures in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which gave rise to mass-meeting intensity and somehow inflamed passions among the delegates. I would like you to amplify your position on this issue.

[Shenin] I will say plainly that I will raise questions, such as that work on the restoration of the constitutional organs of power in Nagornyy Karabakh be completed as soon as possible.

[Verdiyan] It would seem there is no avoiding the acute problem of interethnic relations of Armenia and Azerbaijan....

[Shenin] One thing here is indisputable: The legislatures of the two neighbor republics need to sit down at the negotiating table. All genres of communication, if border clashes may be called communication, have been tried except dialogue. The representatives not only of the official structures but public organizations also can and should participate.

It seemed to me from talks with Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Republic of Armenia Supreme Soviet, that things are heading this way. I would add that I was pleased by the "roundtable" organized by the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI newspaper in which people's deputies of both republics participated.

I will say also that the situation in Armenia is strikingly different from the processes occurring in Moldova [Moldavia], the Baltic, or Central Asia....

[Verdiyan] To take just the blockade....

[Shenin] Not only that. There is no doubt that we cannot look with indifference on the fact that the Azerbaijan side has turned off the natural gas from Russia to Armenia and blocked railroad lines. The entire republic is practically paralyzed, construction is frozen in the earthquake zone, and Armenia's industrial enterprises are losing millions. Winter is not that far off, and the blockade could conclusively undermine the republic's economy not to mention other negative aspects.

[Verdiyan] You have visited the areas devastated by the catastrophic earthquake—Spitak, Akhuryan, and Leninakan. Construction is under way in the area where the great tragedy was played out. Tell us, Oleg Semenovich, are you happy with the progress of the restoration? And why, in your view, is the elimination of the consequences of the elements, scheduled to take two years, falling through?

[Shenin] The elemental blow that crashed down on these ancient parts shook the world. I will never forget the television coverage from the scene of the disasters and the newspaper columns about Armenia's grief. Indeed, there is no alien grief. But now I have felt and perceived in full measure, here on this wounded land, the scale of the catastrophe.

My impressions are as follows: On the one hand much has been done; on the other, far less has been done than should have been in accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers ordinance. It is essential, I believe, to return to the problem of restoration at the Union level once more, the more so in that the term of the first government ordinance has expired. One further decision—specific, profound, and effective—is needed.

The situation in Spitak is complex and difficult, construction workers from Uzbekistan and Estonia have left... and the blockade is to blame for this also. Those who have not left their places of work are idle, lacking material and technical resources. The losses are running into the millions.

Leninakan is reassuring. Strong construction facilities have been created, and the work front is extensive. Two-thirds of the workers have been recruited form the local population, and this is more reliable. You yourself heard Leninakan people comment with praise on the Russian construction workers. I believe that things will go well when there are no supply holdups.

We will not leave Armenia in the lurch—this is the truth.

[Verdiyan] Thank you. We should now obviously expect to see you in Armenia soon for part two of the party congress. Next time perhaps you will have an opportunity to familiarize yourself with our sights....

[Shenin] I have promised to come for the continuation of the congress. I will keep my word. I very much hope at that time to visit Matenadaran, the Picture Gallery, and the Opera Theater and to pay homage at your sacred places. This time, alas, the schedule was tight.... Frankly, Armenia conquers at first sight. God grant peace and accord to Armenian hearths, as they say.

Second Armenian Pannational Congress Set

91US0052A Yerevan GOLOS ARMENII in Russian 11 Oct 90 p 1

[Article by A. Meliksetyan under the rubric "Reporting the Details": "AOD News Conference"]

[Text] **A meeting between representatives of the Armenian Pannational Movement [HHSh] and the republic's journalists took place a few days ago. HHSh board members and board chairman Vano Siradegyan took part in the meeting.**

The news conference was dedicated to the upcoming congress of that organization which opens on 13 November 1990. Questions were asked that related to the organization of the forum, the basic directions of its operations, and the HHSh program. The speakers noted that an organizational committee composed of 30 members of the movement has been created to prepare for the congress. In addition, specialists from the Academy of Sciences of Armenia and the State University are taking part in the preparatory work.

One of the most important questions raised by representatives of the mass media concerned the status of the HHSh. Will it become a political party after the congress or will it remain a movement? The answer was that at present the movement as such does not have long-term plans. It should be accorded the status of a standing organization. However it is still not know when the issue of a party will be decided, at the congress or later.

A number of other issues were also raised at the congress such as the name of the party if one is created by the congress, the introduction of amendments and changes to the HHSh statutes, ties with the political organizations of other republics, etc.

Special attention at the news conference was paid to the personnel policy of the movement, particularly that paragraph of the statutes concerning membership in the organization. It proposes that a representative of any other party or sociopolitical organization may be an HHSh member. The doors of the HHSh are only closed to members of the Communist Party. This was justified by the statement that "the communist ideology cannot serve the interests of our people."

The talk then turned to HHSh activities in the sphere of economics. V. Siradegyan spoke about the problem of cigarettes. He noted that inaction of the militia and other law enforcement organs was the reason representatives of the movement took control of production and sale of tobacco products. For the most part this has helped to resolve this problem.

A correspondent of the newspaper RESPUBLIKA ARMENIYA asked whether V. Siradegyan considers the organization infallible. Not without humor, the leader responded, "All good things in Armenia happen with the participation of the HHSh and bad things—in its name."

The most heated reaction in the hall where the meeting took place came in response to a question posed by a representative of the Council of Veterans. Its essence was as follows: If the HHSh can fight the tobacco crisis, should it not turn its attention to a no less important problem—city transportation operations? After all, it is no secret that people are spending large amounts of time at stops waiting for trams, trolley buses, and buses. In response V. Siradegyan expressed a thought that is difficult to agree with. He said that so long as the people do not attend rallies and go on strike, it means that problems do not exist; and individual complaints are not a basis for HHSh intervention in a matter....

Armenian Guerrillas Captured in Nagorno-Karabakh

PM2910115190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 3

[Report by AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent A. Guseynov: "Operation Conducted"]

[Text] Baku, 24 Oct—During an operation conducted today by USSR Internal Affairs Ministry internal troops subunits in conjunction with the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic law enforcement organs, a group of Armenian thugs—24 in all—was captured and disarmed in Nagorno-Karabakh, in the environs of the Dzhan Yatag field encampment. One of the extremists was wounded. Nine submachine guns including two foreign ones, grenade launchers, grenades, carbines, and over 1,500 cartridges were confiscated. An investigation is under way.

Stepanakert Radio Studio Resumes Broadcasting

LD3010113190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 30 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Stepanakert, the oblast center of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the oblast radio studio has resumed work after nine months's forced silence.

Central Asia

Coverage of Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet Proceedings

Sovereignty Declaration Adopted

LD2510211490 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] At today's morning session of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, a report on the structure of the bodies of state power and the management of the national economy in the republic was delivered by Nursultan Abish-ogly Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR.

The decision was made that the draft law on the introduction of amendments and addenda to the constitution—the basic law—of the Kazakh SSR connected with the new structure of power and administration and a correspondng explanatory note are to be examined in committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

The proposed draft law will be discussed at the secondary plenary session of this meeting.

After that, on behalf of the Supreme Soviet Commission on the finalization of the Draft Declaration on State Sovereignty of the kazakh SSR, its chairman, Deputy (Zhimanov), spoke.

At the eveing session of the Supreme Soviet, there was an article-by-article examination of the draft declaration. Each article was adopted in open voting. The Supreme Soviet adopted the declaration on state soveiegnty of the Kazakh SSR as a whole. Comrade Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR, and Comrade Asanbayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, congratulated deputies and all the participants on this significant event in the history of Soviet Kazakhstan.

Economy Resolution Adopted

LD2710003190 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Today's morning session of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet continued to discuss the government program for transitioning to a market economy.

A concluding speech on the issue under discussion was delivered by Karamanov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers. A resolution of the Supreme Soviet on the program for the transition to a market economy of the Kazakh SSR was adopted. The documents proposed by the Council of Ministers were approved as the basic direction for stabilizing the national economy and transition to a market economy. Considering the proposals and observations, which were mentioned at the session, a working group was formed among the people's deputies, the apparatus of the president of the Kazakh SSR and workers of the republican Council of Ministers, to complete them. With the participation of this working group, the Council of Ministers was instructed to devise an analytical program with specific practical measures for the sessions's review.

At the evening session, the Supreme Soviet heard a report on the draft law, which was finalized with amendments and additions to the legislative acts of the Kazakh SSR, regarding the adoption of the law of the USSR on strengthening the responsibility for the encroachment of national equality of the citizens and violation of the unity of the territory of the USSR, as outlined by the legal regime of the state of emergency and by the committee for the question on legislation, lawfulness, and law and order. After the discussion, the law was adopted.

The Supreme Soviet then moved to an article-by-article vote on the Kazakh SSR laws on ownership, which had been already discussed twice in the legislature.

The committees and commissions of the Supreme Soveit will continue to work tomorrow.

Semipalatinsk Testing Banned

AU2610124090 Paris AFP in English 1221 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, Oct 26 (AFP)—The Soviet central Asian republic of Kazakhstan has adopted a sovereignty declaration, putting its laws above those of the Union and banning all nuclear testing on its territory, the INTERFAX news agency said here Friday.

The declaration, adopted by a majority vote of deputies in Alma Ata, proclaims that the republic's territory, its natural resources, waters and air space will not be used without the republic's consent.

All property forms will be equally lawful, the declaration adds.

Deputies also ruled that all nuclear testing and the construction or operation of test sites for other weapons of mass destruction were banned on Kazakh territory.

A site at Semipalatinsk, in Kazakhstan, has long been the Soviet Union's prime underground nuclear testing centre. Tests there were suspended over a year ago following public protests in the region.

Kazakhstan Bans Export of Most Consumer Goods

LD2710154690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Alma-Ata—By order of the republic's Council of Ministers, a ban has been imposed on exporting 40 types of consumer goods from Kazakhstan. The list includes virtually everything of any interest to consumers. This decision has been made to halt the growing shortages in the region.

KGB Border Troops Hold Meeting in Alma-Ata

LD2710021190 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] In Alma-Ata there was a meeting of the all-Union ideological workers of the USSR State Security Committee border troops, which raised a number of topical questions on military and political work. It was stressed at the meeting that it must be built on the principles of consolidating the Communist in the name of reliable defense of the socialist fatherland, loyalty to Marxist-Leninist teachings, the USSR Constitution, and military duty. Ways and methods were defined to perfect ideological which is the main thing in reorganizing military and political bodies. Taking part in the work was Dvurechensky, Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee secretary.

Kirghiz Republic Changes Names to Kyrgyzstan

LD2610161390 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Frunze October 26 TASS—The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic has been renamed the Socialist Republic of Kyrgyzstan at the second session of the republican Supreme Soviet today.

The session has been marked by heated debates. Yesterday none of the three candidates for the presidential post—incumbent Absamat Masaliyev, Prime Minister Apas Dzhumagulov and Issyk-Kul regional party chief Dzhumgalbek Amanbayev—received the required number of votes.

News analysts believe that the results were affected by pressure from 14 hunger strikers from the Kyrgyzstan Democratic Movement outside the Central Committee building.

The strikers hold the current leadership responsible for the inter-ethnic conflict in the Osh region in June.

Deputies set up a conciliation commission to break the deadlock.

At present deputies are discussing the draft declaration of state sovereignty.

Kirghiz Supreme Soviet Discusses Presidential Bids

LD2510160790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Candidates for the post of republican president were discussed at today's sitting of the session of the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet. Many deputies saw the actions of representatives of informal organizations—who have set up pickets next to the Central Committee building, where the session is taking place—as an attempt to apply pressure. Many of them have announced a hunger strike, demanding the resignation of the Republic's leadership, the lifting of the state of emergency, and a full broadcast of the work of the session on television.

A deputies' commission has begun a dialogue with the hunger strikers. However, the sides have not yet come to a mutual understanding.

President Elected

LD2810105590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] We have received news today about the results of the presidential elections in Kirghizia and Turkmenia. Out of six candidates, Aksar Akayev was elected the first president of the Kirghizian Soviet Socialist Republic. He is 45 years old, a doctor of technical sciences, and a professor. Since 1989 he has occupied the post of president of the republic's Academy of Sciences.

One candidate stood for election to the post of president of Turkmenia—Niyazov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party and chairman of the Turkmenistan Supreme Soviet; 98.3 percent of the electorate voted for him.

President Delivers Keynote Speech

LD2910114390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0902 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Frunze, 29 Oct (TASS)—Forty-six year old Academician Akayev has been elected the first president of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Kyrgyzstan [Kirghizia]. In his keynote speech he singled out several lines of his future activity: normalizing relations between the nationalities and a civil consensus, stabilizing the economy, and creating an all-Union market, as well as strengthening the prestige of the Supreme Soviet and people's deputies. The President envisages the future of the sovereign Kyrgyzstan within a renewed USSR.

Tajikistan Party Discusses Religious Issues

LD2610235990 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 0005 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Excerpt] As stressed at the regular session of the bureau of the Tajikisan Communist Party Central Committee held on 24 October, the process of democratization and openness and the approval of the law on freedom of conscience have had a significant influence on the state of religious affairs of the people in the republic, which demands that the political situation in society be highly and objectively appraised and a new approach be made toward ideological work among the public.

The Central Committee bureau resolutely supported the stand taken by members of the ideological commission of the Central Committee, representatives of the creative scholars and intelligentsia, and secretaries of the rayon and town party committees who participated in discussions on this issue.

Analysis shows that the social activities of religious organizations have increased and that the thinking of clergy and the believers have become political. Their active participation in election campaigns is evidence to this fact. Many workers in religion, including those who have been elected people's deputy of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, and the religious public positively assess the constructive approach by the party and government toward sociopolitical and socioeconomic issues and the complex spiritual and cultural issues.

The Central Committee bureau stressed that the complex and controversial trends in religious environment and the active admission of clergy and believers to the social and political life of the republic demands from party committees and organizations that they should approach religion and believers extremely observantly and specifically. Some old forms and principles of ideological education work from critical point of view must be revised, and these forms and principles be renewed in accordance with the law on freedom of conscience and the new attitude of the republican communist party toward religion and believers. [passage omitted]

Uzbek Council of Ministers Forms State Concerns

LD2910184790 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 1300 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has adopted a decision on the formation of the Uzbek State Concern [word indistinct] and industrialists. Immediate steps have been taken in the direction of developing and strengthening the economic independence of the republic, the real basis for the declaration by the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR on the state sovereignty of Uzbekistan. According to the decision of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers the following are formed: the Uzbek State Concern of the chemical industry, the Uzbek State Concern [word indistinct] industry, the Uzbek State Concern for machine industry, the Uzbek State Concern for agriculture and automobile industry, the Uzbek State Concern for radio, electronic, [word indistinct] industry and instrument making industry, the Uzbek State Concern for the scientific and technical supply to the cotton cleaning industry. Practical steps were adopted toward the formation in the republic of state structures which will provide the achievement of economic independence for the republic, and the conditions for raising the living standard of the population of Uzbekistan. The full text of the decision will be published in the press.

Uzbek Supreme Soviet Opens in Tashkent

LD2910115790 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0600 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] The third session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet of the 12th convocation opened in the assembly hall of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee in Tashkent today.

Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, opened the session. He proposed to observe a minute of silence to the bright memory of the deceased Akmal Ali Rakhmanaliyev and Rustamdzhan Azizov, peoples' deputies of Uzbekistan who died in the period between the two sessions. Later, the floor was given to Shavkat Miramanov, chairman of the credentials committee. He said that elections were held in the period between the two sessions to replace deputies whose positions were vacant and these elections were held in accordance with the constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

The composition of the [word indistinct] of the session and the auditing group were unanimously elected.

Karimov, president of the Republic of Uzbekistan and first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, delivered a speech at the session.

The agenda of the session was confirmed with some changes and amendments.

The session continues its work.

New Uzbekistan Newspaper Begins Publication

LD3010103190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Readers in Uzbekistan today received the first edition of the republican newspaper KHALK SUZI. The republic's Supreme Soviet founded it. The publication intends to post its own correspondents in all Soviet republics and also in a number of eastern states.